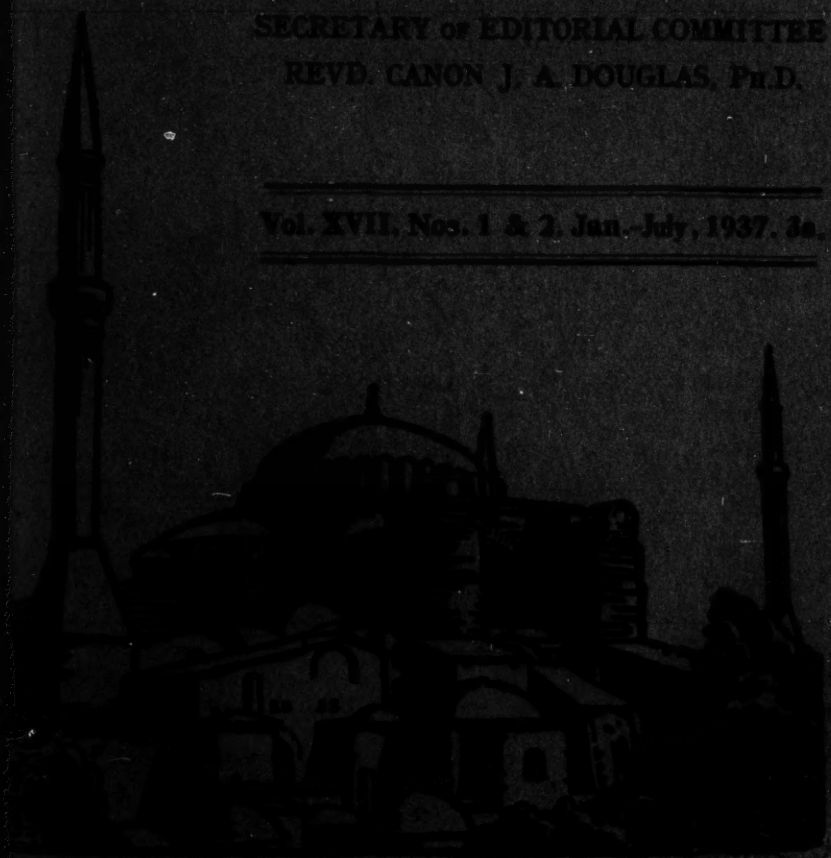
DOUBLE NUMBER

The Christian East

A QUARTERLY REVIEW DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF THE EASTERN CHURCHES

SECRETARY OF EDITORIAL COMMITTEE
REVD. CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

Vol. XVII. Nos. 1 & 2. Jan.-July, 1937. 3s.



PUBLISHED FOR
THE ANGLICAN & EASTERN CHURCHES ASSOCIATION
BY
THE FAITH PRESS, LTD.
4a THE FAITH HOUSE, Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W.1.

CONTENTS.

ARCHBISHOP OF BUKOVINA *Frontispiece*

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE 1

LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE RUMANIAN PATRIARCH 6

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BUCHAREST REPORT BY THE CONVOCATIONS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK 8

CONCORDAT 11

THE SERB PATRIARCH'S PROTEST AGAINST THE CONCORDAT 18

THE FIRST PAN-ORTHODOX CONGRESS OF THEOLOGY. By (Revd.) William H. Dunphy, Phil.D. 25

ZOE: A BROTHERHOOD OF GREEK THEOLOGIANS. By Dr. P. Bratsiotes 28

THE HOLY EUCHARIST. By The Great Archimandrite Constantinides 34

TRAINING THE ORTHODOX PRIEST. By Walton Hannah 39

A VISIT TO THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF TRAVANCORE. By The Right Revd. Noel Hall, Bishop of Chota Nagpur 42

REPORT OF A VISIT TO THE ASSYRIAN REFUGEE CAMPS. By Revd. Leslie F. Hooper 50

AN ARAB VIEW OF THE ASSYRIAN TRAGEDY 57

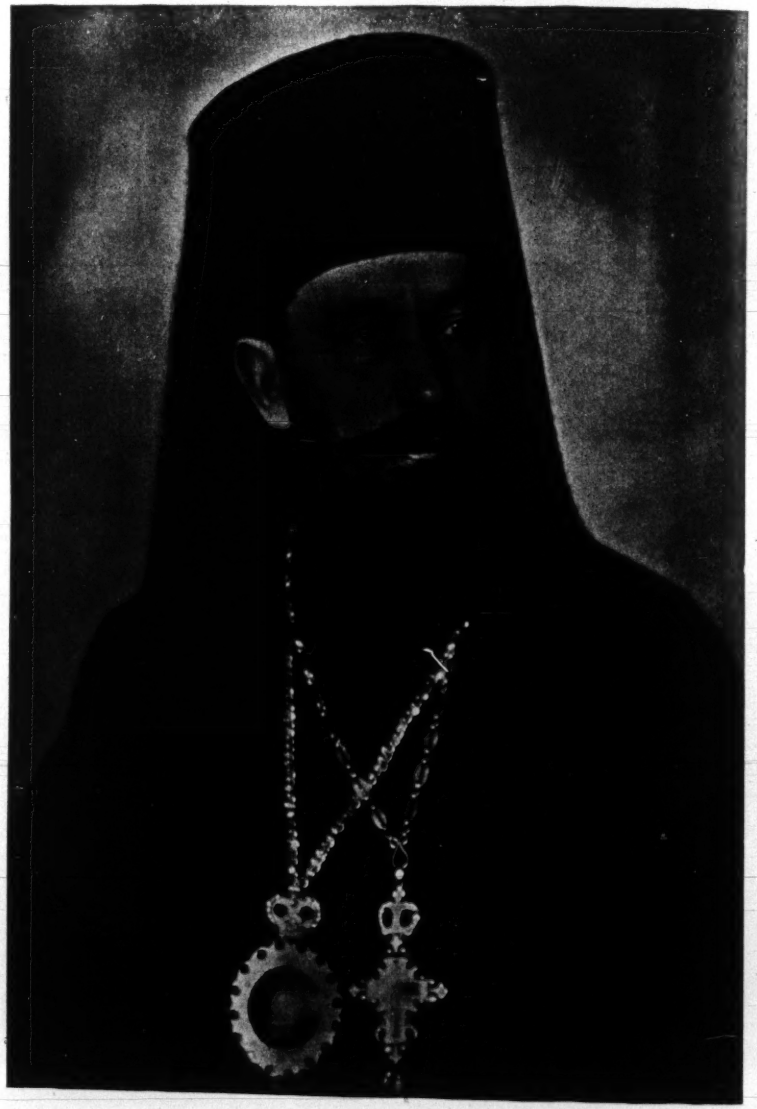
OUR BOOKSHELF 60

1099236

PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

Θεολογία. Constantinople.
Χριστιανικὴ Σφίγξ. Athens.
Orientalia Christiana. Rome.
Κήρυκος. Alexandria.
Θεολογικὸν Φάρος. Alexandria.
Καθ' Ὁδόν. Jerusalem.
Ἐκκλησία. Athens.
Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Κήρυξ. Karlovtzi.
Glasnik. Serbia.
Ὁ Τύπος Χριστοῦ. Athens.
Νικόδημος. Athens.
Narodna Straz. Bulgaria.
Diaria Orientis Romani. Bucarest.
Missionary. Bucarest.
The Living Church. Milwaukee, U.S.A.
The Islamic Review. Woking.
L'Eveque Orientale. Rome.
The Outlook. New York.
The Harvard Theological Review. Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
Jerusalem. Belgium.
Ekklesia. Athens.
Apostolos Barnabas. Cyprus.
Vjesnik. Belgrad.
Sion (Armenian). Palestine.

NOTICE.—All communications, enquiries and subscriptions should be sent: Rev. J. M. French, St. James's Vicarage, West Hampstead, N.W.6.



THE MOST REVD. VISARION PUIU D.D., PH.D.—LORD ARCHBISHOP OF BUKOVINA, RUMANIA.

JAN.—JULY, 1937.] [DOUBLE NUMBER. VOL. XVII. NOS. 1 & 2.

The Christian East

CHRONICLE AND CAUSERIE.

COMPILED BY CANON J. A. DOUGLAS, PH.D.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF THE BUKOVINA.

ARCHBISHOP Visarion, whose photo forms our frontispiece, was born on February 27th, 1879, in Moldavia. He studied at the theological colleges of Roman and Jassy, and afterwards at the university of Bucharest and the Kiev Spiritual Academy.

On his return to Rumania he was appointed Dean of the Galatz Theological College. That he was a man of courage is proved by his book *Cruel Truths* which revolutionised Rumanian clerical thought and created a new era in the education of the Rumanian clergy, whereby more stress was laid on the Holy Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers.

As a writer the Metropolitan Visarion has published several works dealing with the history of the Rumanian Church and has been described by Professor Iorga as the most scholarly of the Rumanian clergy.

While Bishop of Hotin he consecrated fifty new churches and repaired more than three hundred and sixty, established new monasteries, worked for the better endowment of the existing ones and also planned the town of Baltzi, in which was his episcopal palace.

As Metropolitan of Bukovina he should become one of the leading hierarchs of the Orthodox Church.

THE PATRIARCH OF ALEXANDRIA'S BERAT.

The Patriarch Nicholas of Alexandria was elected as successor of the Patriarch Meletios over eighteen months ago. But it was not until April 2nd that the Government of King Farouk issued the necessary berat confirming him in the temporalities of the Patriarchate and in its civil functions. The reason for the delay is said to have been that the relatively small Arabophone minority—*i.e.*, the Orthodox Syrians who speak Arabic—of the flock of the Patriarchate had agitated for greater power in its affairs. However that may be, the effect of that delay was not only that, although

canonically elected and possessed of the spirituality of his office, the position of the Patriarch Nicholas was precarious, but also that not being accepted by the secular authority he was unable to exercise the temporal functions of his office, which, Egypt being a Moslem land, include the administration of the law of marriage and other *statuts personnels* of the Orthodox Community.

In fact the late Patriarch Meletios had exercised great statesmanship in making concessions to the Arabophone minority of the Patriarchate and had removed most of the legitimate grievances.

The Egyptian Government has shown its wisdom and impartiality in refusing to keep the Alexandrian Patriarchate paralysed and deserves our congratulations and the gratitude of all friends of the Orthodox Church.

The Deadlock at Jerusalem.

We regret that the Government of the Mandatory Power in Palestine has not shown courage and vision equal to that of the Egyptian Government by recognising the Patriarch-Elect of Jerusalem, Mgr. Timotheos.

That under a British regime the deadlock which began with the death of the Patriarch Damianos has been permitted to last six years is amazing.

That deadlock was brought about by the British authorities in Palestine letting it be known that they would not accept the election of a new Patriarch unless the Arabophone flock of the Patriarchate took part in it.

That the Arabophone Orthodox have grievances is no doubt true. They constitute the flock of the Patriarchate cent per cent.

On the other hand the machine of the Patriarchate is in effect identified with the confraternity of the Holy Cross, a monastic body which is almost cent per cent Greek.

No Arabophone is a bishop and no Arabophone is a member of the Holy Synod.

At first sight that looks intolerable and it is not surprising that the superficial observer lifts up his hands in horror and asks why a few hundred Greek ecclesiastics should control the Patriarchate when all the Orthodox of Palestine are Arabophones.

But there is another side to the case.

In the first place, the Orthodox Arabophones of Palestine number only some 41,000.

In the second place, the Holy Sepulchre and the other holy places of which the Patriarchate is the guardian and is possessor of the freehold are not only of inestimable sentimental value. They are worth an incalculable sum of money. The Patriarchate holds them in trust, not for the exiguous body of Orthodox Arabophones, but

in the first instance, for the whole Orthodox communion and then for all Christendom.

Granted that, as the Commission appointed by the High Commissioner to investigate the troubles in the Patriarchate reported in 1925, the Patriarchate needs reform.

Then let it be reformed. But do not give the two-score thousand Orthodox Arabophones of Palestine a lien upon it and upon its priceless possessions and its revenue. Reform it as a Pan-Orthodox and a supra-national institution.

But that is exactly what the High Commissioners and their advisers have always refused to consider.

Apparently because they were afraid of foreign influence in the exercise of the mandate if they recognised the Greek, the Serb, the Rumanian or the Bulgar Churches as having an interest in the Patriarchate, they declared roundly in the early days of the mandate that the Patriarchate is a Palestinian institution. And they have stuck to that absurd contradiction of the facts of history ever since.

That they are not conscious of the facts to which they close their eyes, it is hard to believe.

Indeed they have acted in a way which, unless they are to be adjudged as simply ousting the having a policy and as muddling on, points to their being aware that the Patriarchate *cannot* be treated as a purely Palestinian institution.

Otherwise, in logic and in justice, they must have done what in the pre-war days the Turks would have done. They must have taken steps to put the Orthodox Arabophones of Palestine in possession of the temporalities of the Patriarchate.

That would have been a strong course which, however much opposed, would have been respected. Instead, they adopted the hopeless, weak and pitiful attitude of sitting on the fence.

They told the Orthodox Arabophones not to be excessive but to content themselves with getting a foothold in the centre of the Patriarchate. And they told the Greek authorities of the Patriarchate that they must open their doors and allow the Arabophones to acquire such a foothold.

But they defined neither what concessions the authorities of the Patriarchate must make nor with what concessions the Arabophones must be satisfied.

Instead, they indulged themselves in vague recommendations to both parties and told them that really they must come to an agreement of their own action or——.

It was so that with the sly and realistic humour which is characteristic of the Arab mind, the Arabophones dubbed each successive High Commissioner, Janus or, in the Arab idiom, the Father of two Faces.

Put in plain English what the Orthodox Arabophones of Palestine aim at is the capture of the Patriarchate and its being made an Arabophone possession. Even under the British Mandatory Government that would carry with it the right to exploit the Holy Places with financial benefit, and it must be remembered that a considerable part of the revenues of the Patriarchate has been earmarked for many years to provide houses free of rent for Arabophones in Jerusalem and to subsidise them in other ways.

As to what may happen if the recommendations of the Palestine Report are put into effect, the first gloomy foreboding is warranted. Can anyone doubt that, justified by the High Commissioners' interpretation that the Patriarchate is a Palestinian institution, an Arab state would work to make it an Arab institution? While the British retained Jerusalem, the seat of the Patriarchate would be sure but its people would be partly in the Jewish Palestine State and partly in Arab Palestine. How could it function when it was under three independent and separate Governments? and what would happen if the Arabs won through and in the end got possession of Jerusalem?

Meanwhile the Patriarchate's machinery is disorganised and in confusion. Rome is conducting a persistent and far-seeing propaganda. The Orthodox Arabophones are without their necessary schools. The Theological College of the Holy Cross is shut. Life and movement and inspiration are denied the Orthodox of Palestine when the opportunity and need are at their height.

It is high time that the Mandatory Power ceased to play at seesaw, faced facts, and did its duty and ended the deadlock which it has itself created.

The Deadlock in Cyprus.

While the British Government in Cyprus has lacked vision and forgotten that its first duty to the Cypriotes is to see that the Church functions, it can no longer be held responsible for the deadlock which during the last three years has paralysed the Church of Cyprus. After the troubles of 1931, the Government was justified in refusing to permit the return of the Bishops of Kition and Kyrenaea whom it had deported. Since the death of Archbishop Kyril in 1933, there has been only one Bishop in Cyprus, the Metropolitan Leontios of Paphos, the topoteretes or *locum tenens*. That that is so is not the fault of the Government. The Metropolitan Leontios can convene a canonical assembly for the election of a new Archbishop, if he chooses to do so outside of Cyprus. Or the Bishops of Kition and Kyrenaea can canonically nominate delegates to represent them at an election in Cyprus.

It is to be hoped that the Metropolitan Leontios and the Bishops of Kition and Kyrenaea will face facts and release their people from the spiritual destitution in which they have placed them.

DEATH OF THE LOCUM TENENS OF THE PATRIARCHAL THRONE OF MOSCOW, THE METROPOLITAN PETER KRUTITSKI.—R.I.P.

"The Metropolitan died in distant exile, a confessor for the Church.

"In the world Peter Fyodorovitch Polyanski, he was born in the Government of Voronezh in 1863, was educated at the Voronezh Spiritual Seminary and afterwards at the Moscow Spiritual Academy where he graduated in 1892, and became Deputy Inspector of the academy. Shortly afterwards he received the degree of Master of Theology for a dissertation on the Pastoral Epistles. After this until the Revolution he was engaged very successfully in educational work. After the Revolution he took part in the All-Russian Sobor of 1917. Patriarch Tikhon, in 1920, consecrated him a bishop with the position of Patriarchal Vicar.

"At the death of the Patriarch Tikhon, the Metropolitan Peter, although third on the list of hierarchs nominated by the Patriarch to become Locum Tenens, was the only one in a position effectively to take over this position. But soon after he was arrested, in 1925, and exiled to the island of Khe at the mouth of the river Ob, where he remained until his death last year." (*From "Golos"—the organ of the Metropolitan of Lithuania.*)

The passing of the Metropolitan Peter is an important event for the Russian Church. In Russia itself the Metropolitan Sergiei, who has also been declared the Canonical Metropolitan of Moscow, is recognised by those who accept his jurisdiction as being *de jure* as well as *de facto* the Locum Tenens of the Patriarchal Throne. In the Russian Church in exile, those who accept on one hand the jurisdiction of the Karlovci Synod of Bishops and on the other hand the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Evlogie regard the office of locum tenens as in suspense.

FIRST CONGRESS OF ORTHODOX THEOLOGIANS.

Though late in the day we print an account by the Revd. W. Dunphy, an able American Theologian who was present at it, of the Congress of Orthodox Theologians held at Athens last autumn. It will be remembered that Professor Alivisatos who was the originator of the conference and to whose drive, tact and zeal its achievements were largely due, forecast its programme in our last issue.

The conference may well prove to be a noteworthy landmark in the modern history of Orthodoxy.

LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO THE RUMANIAN PATRIARCH.

LAMBETH PALACE, S.E.1.

February, 1937.

BELOVED BROTHER IN CHRIST,

You will remember that during the course of Your Holiness's memorable visit to London last summer you handed to me a copy of the Resolution of the Holy Synod of the Church of Rumania dated March 20th, 1936, wherein was declared the acceptance by the Holy Synod of the validity of Anglican Orders, subject to the ratification by the Church of England of the statements contained in the Report of the Conference held in Bucharest in May, 1935.

In accordance with the terms of that Resolution I have submitted the Report to the two Convocations of Canterbury and York and am happy to be able to inform you that both Convocations have, after careful consideration, finally accepted and approved the Report by overwhelming majorities. This means that the agreements reached at Bucharest have now been authoritatively accepted by the Convocations or Synods of the Church of England.

I enclose a Memorandum setting out in detail the terms of the Resolutions passed, with only six dissentients, in the Convocations of Canterbury and York.

I trust that Your Holiness and the other members of your Holy Synod will be as gratified as I am at the achievement of this happy result, and I pray that the fraternal relations thus achieved may bear abundant fruit in years to come, to the glory of God and to the building up of the Body of Christ.

It is the hope of myself and of all who have the unity of the Church of Christ at heart that the agreements already reached may lead to further progress along the road to that full intercommunion between the Church of England and the Orthodox Churches of the East, which is the burden of our prayers and the goal of all our efforts.

I am, etc.,
(Signed) COSMO CANTUAR.

To His Beatitude,
The Patriarch of Rumania.

Memorandum.

When the Church of England delegates left Bucharest in 1935, on the conclusion of their conversations with the Rumanian Commission, they brought home with them a duly signed and accredited

copy of the Report and handed it to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

His Grace gave orders, with as little delay as possible, for the printing of the Report for the information of Church people in England.

The next step was to submit the Report to the ancient Synods of the Church of England, the Convocations of the two Provinces of Canterbury and York, for their approval. Each of the Convocations consists of two Houses, called respectively the Upper and the Lower House. In the Upper Houses sit the Diocesan Bishops of the Province—in the Lower Houses sit representative clergy of the Province, some *ex-officio* and some elected.

In order to arrive at any conclusion with regard to the Rumanian Report that could be regarded as carrying with it the assent of the duly constituted synodical authorities of the Church of England it was necessary to submit the Report to the two Convocations for their approval.

This was done in *MAY*, 1936. The result was that in that month :

(1) both Houses of the *CONVOCATION OF YORK* passed (in the Upper House *unanimously* and in the Lower House, *nemine contradicente*) the following Resolution :—

> " That this Synod thankfully accepts and approves the Report and trusts that it may lead to yet closer relations with the Rumanian Church and other branches of the Orthodox Communion."

(2) both Houses of the *CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY* passed (in the Upper House, *unanimously*, and in the Lower House, *nemine contradicente*) the following Resolution :—

> " That this House, while adjourning further consideration of the Report, expresses its thanks to the members of the Rumanian Commission and of the Anglican Delegation for preparing it, and trusts that it may lead to yet closer relations with the Rumanian Church and other branches of the Orthodox Communion."

At the next Meeting of the *CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY* in *JANUARY*, 1937, the consideration of the Report, adjourned at the last session, was resumed. On this occasion, the following Resolution was proposed :—

> " That inasmuch as the Report of the Conference at Bucharest between the Rumanian Commission on relations with the Anglican Communion and the Church of England Delegation appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury is consonant with Anglican formularies and a legitimate interpretation

of the faith of the Church as held by the Anglican Communion, this House accepts and approves of the Report."

The above Resolution was passed in the Upper House of Bishops *nemine contradicente* and in the Lower House of Clergy by a *majority of* 104 *to* 6.

February, 1937.

THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BUCHAREST REPORT BY THE CONVOCATIONS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK.

BY agreement the Report of the Conference at Bucharest from June 1st to June 8th, between the Delegation appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to confer with a Commission appointed by the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church of Rumania was not to be released until it had been considered by the Rumanian Synod.

Circumstances prevented the Rumanian Synod from considering the Report until March, 1936; and the Report was not published until after the Rumanian Patriarch had taken the opportunity of his visit to the Archbishop of Canterbury in May, 1936, to communicate to his Grace the Resolution upon the Report which had been passed unanimously by the Rumanian Synod on March 20th, 1936. That Resolution, the Rumanian text of which with a certified English translation, may be found together with the full English text of the Report in the *Christian East*, Jan.–July, 1936, Vol. XIV, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 16–30.

In it the Rumanian Synod unanimously accepted the recommendation of its commission contained in the Report that it should declare its recognition of Anglican orders, but very reasonably required that before that acceptance should become definitive the "final authority of the Anglican Church" should ratify "all the statements of its Delegation concerning the Mystery of Holy Orders."

In order to satisfy that requirement the Archbishops of Canterbury and York arranged that the Report should be considered by the convocations of Canterbury and of York, at the sessions in May, 1936.

Both the House of Bishops and the House of Clergy of the York Convocation unanimously accepted and approved the Report but the House of Bishops of Canterbury on May 22nd, 1936, decided to postpone its consideration until its next session in January, 1937.

in order that there might be ample time for the contents of the report to be studied and considered.

During the autumn of 1936 the extreme Protestant section in the Church of England subjected the Report to a continuous and vehement attack, which did not refrain from personal invective against the *personnel* of the Delegation and even the Archbishop of Canterbury himself. Nothing was left undone by certain militant Protestant organisations to prejudice public opinion. The violence of their misrepresentations, however, defeated itself. As the contents of the Report became widely known in the Church of England it became increasingly approved.

When the Canterbury Convocation met on January 20th, 1937, its implementation of the Report was a foregone conclusion, but that the opposition to it would collapse completely was hardly expected.

The Upper House of Bishops, however, resolved without a dissentient voice and the Lower House of Clergy resolved by the overwhelming majority of 104 to 6 " that inasmuch as the Report of the Conference at Bucharest between the Rumanian Commission in relation with the Anglican Commission and the Delegation appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury is consonant with Anglican formalities and a legitimate interpretation of the Faith of the Church as held by the Anglican Communion, this House accepts and approves of the Report."

In the Upper House of Bishops this resolution was moved by the Bishop of Gloucester and seconded by the Bishop of Derby; and the President, the Archbishop of Canterbury, commended it.

The Bishop of Lincoln, the leader of the Delegation who supported it in a telling speech, had also published a pamphlet a few weeks earlier which dealt very frankly with the Report.

In the Lower House of Clergy, Canon Deane, the distinguished writer, moved the Resolution and Canon J. A. Douglas, the secretary of the Delegation who had stood for a vacant protectorship of the London Diocese in November, in order to have the opportunity of doing so and had been elected by a two to one majority, seconded it.

Very wide interest was taken in the motion by the general public and except among extremely sectionally minded Protestant Evangelicals the greatest satisfaction was felt at the result.

The Times gave place of honour among its leading articles on January 22nd to one which contained the following:

" How notable a step towards reunion was taken on Wednesday, when the Church of England finally approved the Rumanian report, and the marked degree in which it is likely to aid future discussions, are facts as yet not generally understood. As an indirect result of the Lambeth Conference, the Rumanian Church desired to investigate

the ecclesiastical status and doctrines of the Anglican Church. In 1935, Anglican delegates, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, led by the Bishop of Lincoln, and representing various schools of thought, went to Bucharest and interchanged views with Rumanian delegates. Ultimately the conference framed a series of doctrinal statements, worded for the most part in the theological idiom familiar to the Rumanians, but of a character which the Anglican delegates were able to accept as consonant with their own Prayer-book and Articles of Religion. The Rumanian delegates also advised their Holy Synod to admit, as justified by careful investigation, the full validity of Anglican orders, and the Holy Synod unanimously endorsed both this recommendation and the doctrinal concordat.

"The significance of this becomes greater when it is remembered that the Rumanian Church, with its 11,000,000 adherents, is the largest and perhaps the most influential of the autocephalous branches of the Eastern Orthodox Church. But, before the report could become effective, to the formal acceptance of it by the Church of Rumania had to be added formal acceptance by the Church of England. The duty of giving or withholding it lay with the four Houses of the two English Convocations. Both the Northern Houses welcomed and adopted the report last June. The two Canterbury Houses also considered it at that time, but felt that so important a matter needed further examination. After an interval of seven months an identical motion, approving and adopting the report, was moved in both this week. In the House of Bishops it was proposed by the Bishop of Gloucester, who for years past has worked untiringly to promote a better understanding between the English and Eastern Churches. After an amendment had been overwhelmingly defeated, the Bishop's motion was carried *nem. con.* In the Lower House it was moved by Canon Deane and supported in a most effective speech by Canon Douglas, himself a member of the Bucharest delegation, and one whose devoted labours in the cause of Christian unity are beyond praise. In this House the motion for adoption and approval was carried by the striking majority of 104 votes to six. The agreement thus finally ratified makes no pretence of establishing full intercommunion. Yet it brings that ultimate stage perceptibly nearer. Moreover the completion of this preliminary agreement, and the action of the Rumanian Church in expressly admitting the full validity of Anglican orders, are bound at once to have a powerful influence on other Churches of the Near East. After Wednesday's debates a sagacious diocesan Bishop observed that the day's events were, from the ecclesiastical point of view, the most important that had occurred since the Reformation, and history may yet prove his remark to have been justified."

CONCORDAT.

The Proposed Concordat between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, signed July 25th, 1935, and first published and submitted to the Skuptchina, July, 1937.

THE representative of His Holiness Pope Pius XI was His Eminence Cardinal Pacelli, Papal Secretary of State. The representative of the Regents of Yugoslavia was Dr. Ludwig Auer, Minister of Justice.

The following points were agreed on :

1. To the Catholic Church is recognised, in connection with its services, the full right freely and openly to carry out its mission in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

2. The Catholic hierarchy in Yugoslavia is organised as follows :

(i) The Province of Split, with an Archbishop of Split and a number of suffragan sees, including Ragusa.
(ii) The Province of Zagreb, with an Archbishop of Zagreb and a number of suffragan sees, including Sremski.
(iii) The Province of Sarajevo, with an Archbishop of Sarajevo and a number of suffragan sees, including Mostar.
(iv) The Province of Belgrade, with an Archbishop of Belgrade and a number of suffragan sees, including Skoplje.
(v) The Province of Lyublyana, with an Archbishop of Lyublyana and one suffragan see.
(vi) The see of Antivari (Bar), whose Archbishop will bear the purely honorary title of Primate of Serbia and be directly subject to the Holy See.

No part of Yugoslavia will fall under the jurisdiction of a bishop living outside Yugoslavia, and no Catholics living outside Yugoslavia will fall under the jurisdiction of a bishop living in Yugoslavia.

When the new hierarchical organisation and delimitation of sees has been brought about, the responsibility of the *Congregatio de propaganda fide* will cease for sees over which it now exercises this responsibility.

3. The Holy See will select the occupants of episcopal sees in Yugoslavia from among members of the clergy who are Yugoslav subjects.

In the event of a see falling vacant, each of the Yugoslav bishops within a month will send a list of suitable candidates to the Holy See, which will give special consideration to candidates put forward by the bishops of the province in which the vacancy has taken place.

Before appointing an archbishop or a diocesan bishop or a coadjutor bishop with right of succession, the Holy See will find out from the Yugoslav government if there are any political considerations against the candidate. In order to fill the vacancy as quickly as possible, the government will be requested to assent to the candidate publicly proposed with the least possible delay. But if thirty days after the public proposal of a candidate for a bishopric there has been no expression of dissent on the part of the government, the Holy See has the right without further discussion to appoint the candidate to the see.

4. Archbishops, bishops and coadjutor bishops with right of succession will take an oath of loyalty to the King, in which they will swear to be faithful to the State of Yugoslavia, the King and his lawful heirs, and to do nothing to impair the independence, unity or interest of Yugoslavia, and to instruct their flock in full loyalty to Yugoslavia.

5. The Holy See will appoint public prayers for the Sovereign in the national language.

6. The occupants of the sees come, in ecclesiastical matters, directly and exclusively under the Holy See with which they, as well as the clergy and laity, have the full right of direct relations.

The ordinaries will be able to have free intercourse with their clergy and laity, to publish pastoral announcements and to assemble together to discuss matters concerning their spiritual work.

7. Ordinaries will exercise freely their ecclesiastical jurisdiction and will enjoy all the rights and prerogatives appertaining to their position, as is enjoined in the canon law. All the members of the Catholic clergy in their dioceses will be subject to them, in accordance with the canons of the Church.

In the exercise of their ministry, clergy will enjoy State protection just like government officials.

No legal or other authorities may compel clergy to reveal facts learnt under seal of confession, nor may the clergy be punished for not revealing such facts.

The wearing of clerical dress by laity or clergy forbidden to do so by the Church authorities will be regarded by the State as an offence just as serious as the unlawful wearing of military uniform.

8. Clergy with care of souls will not be allowed during the active exercise of their ministry to belong to political parties and work for them. This, however, does not affect their preaching on doctrine and moral questions.

The Yugoslav government will make similar arrangements with the other confessions.

9. The Holy See will have a *nuncio* accredited to His Majesty the King of Yugoslavia and the King of Yugoslavia will have a minister accredited to the Holy See.

10. Archbishops and bishops will have on the territory under them authority to create, alter and divide parishes, to appoint and change parish priests and to fill ecclesiastical benefices and posts, in accordance with canon law.

Priests with care of souls must be Yugoslav subjects. Exceptions to this will only be by special arrangement with the Government.

In parishes in which are spoken minority languages the priests will learn also the national language in which to conduct services by arrangement with the government or military authorities.

11. The use of their language in the services for spiritual instruction and church gatherings be granted to minorities, if similar rights be granted to Yugoslavs in countries ruled by peoples of the same race as the Yugoslav minorities.

The Holy See undertakes in all future concordats with other powers to see that the rights in this matter of Yugoslav minorities be equally respected.

12. Religious orders have the right of free organisation and can erect new buildings. The government guarantees their freedom of activity in such matters as celebration of the Church services, preaching, care of souls, help to the sick, charitable institutions.

The Holy See undertakes to see that houses of the religious orders should not be ruled over by provincial authorities other than Yugoslav subjects, except with the special permission of the government. Provincial authorities and also local authorities are to be Yugoslav citizens.

Ecclesiastical authorities outside Yugoslavia have the right to visit their houses in Yugoslavia.

New foundations, as well as orders introduced from abroad, are recognised as having a legal status.

13. When a Roman Catholic priest is accused of a crime, his ecclesiastical superiors must be informed and the dignity of his position respected during the trial.

During the trial, the priest is to be temporally suspended from the exercise of his functions by his superior.

Should the way of life of any priest be such as to cause open scandal the State authorities are to inform the requisite ecclesiastical authoities, who will see that the priest in question is removed from his post.

If the decision of the courts against a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic is not accepted by his superiors, the matter is to be examined by a special mixed commission, consisting of a representative of the ministry of Justice and a representative of the episcopate. In the case of a bishop, the government will discuss the matter directly with the Holy See.

14. The Catholic Church has the right of electing its superiors in accordance with the provisions of its own canon law.

15. All the State authorities are to give their administrative aid to the ecclesiastic authorities in the event of offences against the Concordat, just as in like manner they are to aid the other confessions.

16. The Catholic Church has the right of acquiring property to be administered according to canon law, and which is not to be subject to confiscation except at a time of national emergency.

The property of the Catholic Church remains to it even when and if local congregations go over to another faith.

17. The Roman Catholic Church has the right to support itself by the usual means, such as interest on its property, church taxes and free gifts. In addition, the State will pay to it permanent subventions (as defined in par. 18).

18. The State will guarantee to the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia economic aid proportionally not less than the aid guaranteed to the other confessions allowed or recognised in the Kingdom. On the basis of the above principle of equality and as a result of clearly shown material need the State will give to the Catholic Church an annual subvention corresponding to the number of its members.

19. The property of the Church used for services, instruction or charitable work is free from taxation.

20. The property of " The Religious Fund " belongs to the Catholic Church, serves exclusively its aims and is to be administered by the respective bishops.

21. Numerous public institutions maintained by the State are to be suppressed.

22. The Yugoslav government will recompense the ecclesiastical authorities for the lands lost as a result of the agrarian reforms in order that, together with the other means of support mentioned in the Concordat, the Church may be able to secure its necessary means of existence.

23. The question of the final suppression of ecclesiastical rights, as well as compensation arising therefrom, will be decided by a common agreement between the two parties concerned.

24. In order to prepare boys for the priesthood, the ecclesiastical authorities have the right to open seminaries. Seminaries will be under the exclusive control of the Church, which will govern them in accordance with canon law and which will appoint their superiors and professors.

The language of instruction will be the Yugoslav language, except for scholastic philosophy and theology, which will be taught in Latin.

25. The government will make arrangements for the opening of theological faculties.

The professors of these theological faculties will be appointed by the State, according to the law concerning universities, from among candidates possessing a certificate stating their suitability for the

position issued by the requisite Church authorities, in accordance with the constitution "*Deus scientiarum Dominus*," which is now the foundation of Church regulations with regard to theological faculties.

The withdrawal of episcopal permission to professors of theological faculties will have as consequence their immediate loss of the right to teach. The ordinaries, in co-operation with the government, will arrange provisionally for a substitute for the professor removed.

The government recognise, without any further examination, degrees obtained by Yugoslav subjects at the Roman Papal Universities, and the degrees of these universities will enjoy the same legal rights as the degrees of Yugoslav theological faculties.

The curriculum in these theological faculties will be in accordance with the usual regulations of the Holy See in this matter.

26. In elementary, State, special and secondary schools, public and private, religious teaching shall be for Catholic youth a compulsory subject under the supervision of the ecclesiastical authorities.

The bishop, or his representative, shall have the right to inspect schools with regard to matters concerning religious instruction.

The curriculum of religious teaching will be able to be approved by the necessary Church authorities. School text-books for this purpose will not be able to be used for instruction without the approval of these ecclesiastical authorities.

Not less than two hours a week shall be devoted to religious instruction.

The government will fill vacant places of permanent catechists.

The appointment of permanent catechists of primary schools, who will be Yugoslav subjects, will be made by the Minister of Education on the recommendation of the diocesan bishops. These catechists will not be moved from one diocese to another without agreement with the ordinaries.

In schools where there is no position of permanent catechist instruction shall be given by the parish clergy or by lay teachers appointed by the ordinaries as honorary catechists.

Examination for the certificate of permanent catechist shall take place before a State commission for all profane matters, just as for all other teachers and professors, and before an ecclesiastical commission appointed by the episcopate for all matters touching theological discipline.

27. Both the teaching given in primary schools and the conduct of the teachers must respect the religious and moral education of Catholic pupils.

The school books will not contain anything contrary to the religious principles or sentiments of the Catholic pupils.

In the schools frequented exclusively or in majority by Catholic pupils, the teachers will also be Catholics as far as possible, particularly for matters concerning the religious formation of the scholars.

In other schools the number of teachers will correspond as far as possible to the number of Catholic scholars.

28. The government will protect the confessional character and legal position of schools which already exist, under the supervision and control of the bishop or the superior of the religious order, and will permit the founding of other similar schools in which the instruction shall be given in the Yugoslav language.

These schools, if they carry out the regulations prescribed for the different State schools, will enjoy the same rights as State Schools.

29. The State recognises to the Catholic Church the right of giving religious assistance to its followers in hospitals, orphanages, prisons, etc. The priests appointed thereto by the competent authority in accord with the diocesan bishop will be paid by the State or the bodies to whom the institutions belong.

30. Candidates for the priesthood, who have completed their studies in some public faculty, theological seminary or other equivalent school, shall perform a period of military service not longer than six months, during which time they will be drafted into the ambulance section.

31. In order to give spiritual assistance to Catholics serving with the forces, the Holy See will appoint, in agreement with the Yugoslav government, a chaplain-general to the Forces, to whom shall be subject, in matters concerning their ministry, the military chaplains.

The ecclesiastical appointment of military chaplains will be made by the Chaplain-General in agreement with the Minister of War.

32. In the event of mixed marriages, the State authority will see that, at the desire of the Church authorities, there should be observed a guarantee given by the contracting parties that all the sons and daughters without exception should be educated in the Catholic faith.

33. The Yugoslav government recognises to the Catholic Church the full right to found and direct Associations of Catholic action, which will direct, free of party politics, the religion and moral life of Catholics and be directly dependent on and responsible to the Catholic hierarchy.

34. The government will ensure that in the State institutions for physical culture, the religion of Catholics will be respected.

35. It is understood that with the introduction of the present concordat there will be abrogated the laws, decrees and regulations at the moment having the force of law in the kingdom so far as they conflict with this concordat.

36. Two months after the ratification of the Concordat, there shall be appointed a mixed commission on the basis of parity to decide matters of dispute which may arise from various articles of the Concordat.

37. Other matters of importance not dealt with in the concordat are to be decided according to canon law.

38. The exchange of ratifications will take place at Rome as quickly as possible and the concordat will come into force on the same day.

CONCLUDING PROTOCOL.

The Apostolic Nuncio to His Majesty the King of Yugoslavia is the Doyen of the Diplomatic Corps.

DR. LUDWIG AUER.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.

The Holy See confirms the traditional habit at the Latin Mass of singing the epistle and gospel in the native Slavonic language and ordains the concessions appointed with regard to the use of the service books in the national language, with the exception that the use of the Latin language is to be retained for non-Slav parishes and for non-Slav groups in parishes with a Slavonic majority, according to the regulations of the Holy See in this matter.

The Holy See also confirms the use of the old Slavonic language in the Holy Liturgy in the form recognised by the Popes Leo XII and Pius X of blessed memory.

With regard to the use of the old Slavonic language, the Holy See has no objection to the bishops allowing, in accordance with their own judgment, in parishes where Slavonic is the language of the people, the use of the old Slavonic language in the holy Mass, at the unanimous request of the faithful. Bishops will on all occasions inform the Holy See.

Independently of this, the singing of the Mass in old Slavonic is permitted in the churches of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on the feast of SS. Cyril and Methodius, even delayed to the appointed week, on condition that the priest taking the Mass understands the language well enough.

CARDINAL PACELLI.

(*Translated from the Serbian, and in places summarised, by E. N. C. Sergeant.*)

THE SERB PATRIARCH'S PROTEST AGAINST THE CONCORDAT.

[THIS letter was addressed to the Yugoslav Prime Minister in December, 1936, but was not published until June, 1937, when Father Koroshets, who is a Roman Catholic priest and the Minister of the Interior, endeavoured to prevent the circulation by suppressing *Glaznik* in which it was printed.]

TO DR. MILAN STOYADINOVIČ,

PRIME MINISTER OF YUGOSLAVIA.

The Holy Council of Hierarchs of the Serbian Orthodox Church, assembled at an extraordinary session in Belgrade, has the honour of presenting to you, after a serious, profound and exhaustive examination of the project of the already drafted concordat with the Vatican, the following representation :

On the 26th of July, 1935, there was drafted at the Vatican the project of a concordat between Pope Pius XI and our State. This project has already been submitted to the representatives of the people for ratification. Since this important decision concerns both the State and the other confessions, the Holy Council of Hierarchs, as the highest representative body of the Serbian Orthodox Church, attempted to bring before the government its opinion on the contents of the pact, but so far this attempt has not been received with the consideration it deserves. As soon as the text of the concordat was published, the Holy Council of Hierarchs submitted it to a careful examination and came to the firm conviction that this pact alters the position of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the country and is harmful to the national interests. As a result, the Serbian Orthodox Church, as a religious and as a national organisation, took every opportunity of protesting vigorously and of demanding from the government that this concordat should not be ratified.

As is known, in the former kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro, where the population was overwhelmingly orthodox, the Serbian Orthodox Church occupied the position of State Church, although all the other confessions enjoyed State toleration.

As a result of freedom and unification, the State territory was increased and the religious position of the population was different, although the orthodox faith remained the faith of the majority. Hence the government, in the manifesto of the late lamented King and at the time Regent Alexander of the 6th of January, 1919, and afterwards in the decree constituting the ministry of cults of the 31st of August, 1919, and in the September constitution, proclaimed the principle of confessional equality. For the alteration of the principle

of State religion into that of confessional equality there was no great need. The great and universally known services of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the creation of the State and the preservation of nationality among enemies more numerous gave it the right to maintain its age-old historic position in the State, as indeed actually was the case with the orthodox Churches in the neighbouring states of Greece, Bulgaria and Rumania. However, the Serbian Orthodox Church, accustomed through the centuries to making great sacrifices for the people and the State, consented to this lessening of its rights in the firm conviction that the principle of confessional equality, proclaimed in the fundamental laws of the land, would be strictly and impartially observed both in legislation and national life. Unfortunately, this hope has not been realised.

When it is borne in mind that by international pacts binding on our State are guaranteed the existence and functions of the separate national and religious minorities in our land on the one hand, and that to the Roman Catholic Church is recognised the right of supreme religious leadership from abroad with all the rights and attributes of an independent, extra-territorial and equal position on the other, then it becomes clear and obvious that the Serbian Orthodox Church can protect its position, its rights and its interests only through the strict and impartial confessional equality guaranteed by the constitution and the laws of the land. The regulations proclaimed by the constitution with regard to the relationships between the State and the religious organisations have never been brought into operation by one common law for all confessions and the projects for a common law concerning the confessions and interconfessional relationships have remained only projects, but the position of all recognised confessions has been regulated by separate acts of legislation which for the most part repeated these declarations and were latterly as a rule in accord with confessional equality. But recently the constitutional regulations concerning confessional equality have been glaringly transgressed. The law concerning the Islam religious community of the 31st of January, 1930, which was in accordance with the constitution, has been replaced by a new law which clearly violates the principle of confessional equality in favour of that community. The new project of a concordat radically vitiates and abandons the constitutional principle of confessional equality and gives to the Roman Catholic Church the position of a ruling, dominant State church, and consequently all the other confessions and in particular the Church of the majority of the population—the Orthodox Church—are given a mere position of toleration. That this is the case is obvious from the appended analysis of the concordat under the title of " A Declaration concerning the concordat," and here we will merely indicate certain outstanding examples.

The project frequently has recourse to the canon law of the

Roman Catholic Church and establishes as a principle that all questions are to be settled by it. Thus, for the example, articles XIV, XVI, XXIV, XXV, XXXII of the project, and at the end of the concordat it is declared that "all remaining questions concerning ecclesiastical persons and property shall in a similar way be decided according to canon law."

It is known that the Roman Catholic Church regards only itself as the true Church and in no way recognised the principle of confessional equality. Moreover the members of other Christian confessions it regards as its own members, subject to its own courts and its own regulations. For it no other religious institution has the right to exist, and its *de facto* existence can never really be accepted or in any sense recognised, and the Roman Catholic must do its utmost to destroy it. This attitude of the Roman Catholic Church is illustrated in the numerous and concrete regulations of its canon law concerning interconfessional relationships, *e.g.*, concerning the nullity of a mixed marriage celebrated before a non-Roman Catholic priest, concerning the *impedimentum catholicismi*, concerning the Roman Catholic faith of the children of such marriages, etc. Thus the other confessions cannot consent to this violation of their independence and rights.

The project does not confine itself to the proclamation of the binding nature of the Roman Catholic canon law in our land, but in addition, proclaims to the Roman Catholic Church privileges possessed by no other confession. Thus the first article of the concordat recognises to the Roman Catholic Church the right freely and openly to carry out its mission in Yugoslavia, as though our Kingdom were a culturally backward and heathen land, for which a mission is necessary, with the other confessions merely objects of the missionary work of the Roman Catholic Church. The project of the concordat—article VIII—gives to the Vatican the right of drawing up regulations for the forbidding of political activity to parish priests with care of souls and binds the government at the same time to draw up identical regulations for the other confessions concerning political activity in the parties! Thus all the non-Roman Catholic confessions will be directly subject to regulations from Rome and on the basis of these regulations there will be taken from them rights guaranteed by the constitution and the laws of the land.

Articles XVIII—XXII of the project give to the Roman Catholic Church a whole series of exclusive privileges concerning property, which are not possessed by the other confessions, such as the freeing of the incomes of ecclesiastical persons from taxation, the abandonment of a quantity of State tax, freedom from the telegraph tax and compensation for property confiscated as a result of the agrarian reforms, etc.

Article XXVII of the project binds the government not only to institute instruction in primary schools in accordance with the Roman Catholic faith and to see that the books used for other subjects should contain nothing incompatible with the religion of the Roman Catholic scholars, but also defines that in places where there are exclusively or preponderantly Roman Catholic scholars the teachers also shall be of this confession. Thus scholars of other confessions will in many places be forced to attend schools which will in substance possess a confessional Roman Catholic character.

It is to be observed that in schools attended exclusively or for the most part by orthodox scholars—and there are more such schools than those in which the majority of the scholars are Roman Catholics—the teachers can also be Roman Catholics, but the religious principles of the orthodox scholars are given no special consideration. While Roman Catholics can be teachers in schools where the scholars are Roman Catholics and can be appointed to all other kinds of schools, non-Roman Catholic teachers cannot teach in schools where the scholars are Roman Catholics and can only be appointed to other schools.

Article XXX of the project, contrary to the constitutional principle of confessional equality, gives to Roman Catholic ecclesiastical persons and members of religious orders exclusive privileges with regard to military service not possessed by the other confessions, and article XXXI gives to the Roman Catholic Church the right of having a larger number of military chaplains than are proportionally possessed by the other confessions.

Article XXXII gives to the Roman Catholic canon law the settlement of questions concerning mixed marriages which falls within the competency of the State interconfessional legislation. The method foreseen by the project of the concordat subjects the other confessions in this question to the regulations of the Roman Catholic canon law, which deliberately violate the principle of confessional equality and trample on all the rights of the other confessions in matrimonial questions. Moreover, according to the last section of this article, children of mixed marriages "without exception must be brought up in the Catholic faith," and the government binds itself to ensure the carrying out of this flagrant violation of confessional equality by force if necessary. In the protection of their rights against these regulations of the concordat the Orthodox Church will be deprived of the possibility of appealing to rights which it has secured to it by the present laws, since article XXXV of the project declares that, as an introduction to the application of the concordat there are abolished all the laws and regulations in force in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia so far as these are incompatible with the regulations contained in the concordat,

and as we have seen, the project of the concordat—article XXXVII—leaves the settlement of all Church questions not taken into account in the concordat to the Roman Catholic canon law.

Moreover, since the Serbian Orthodox Church is not only a religious but also a national institution and its representatives have always been and always will be patriotic citizens of Yugoslavia, they are compelled to bring to the attention of the government the unsatisfactory sides of the concordat not only in relationship to the Orthodox Church but also to the State itself.

Above all, the project of the concordat is opposed to the principle of national sovereignty. This principle does not allow the State to acknowledge over itself the will of any other organisation. It is to be observed that the project of the concordat places above the national will the will of the Roman Curia, leaving the settlement of a whole series of legal questions in the State to the regulations of Roman Catholic canon law. Thus the State authority becomes a sort of inferior organ of the Roman Curia and is specifically pledged to apply to all confessions the regulations of the Vatican with regard to forbidding the clergy to take part in politics, not knowing what its future regulations will be.

Another insufficiency in the concordat with regard to the law of the land is the fact that the project of the concordat stands in contradiction to fundamental State laws. We have already seen that the concordat violates the principle of confessional equality. But it stands in clear contradiction to many other articles of the constitution. For example, it contradicts article 4 of the national constitution, which proclaims the equality of all citizens before the law, since the concordat gives exclusive privileges to Roman Catholics; article 6 of the constitution, which declares that no persons can be tried by a court under whose jurisdiction they do not fall, since the project in matrimonial disputes subjects to Roman Catholic courts members of other confessions; it contradicts section 2 of article 11 of the constitution which declares that the enjoyment of civil and political rights is independent of religious profession and that no one can avoid military service through a religious conscience plea, but the concordat makes educational and matrimonial rights dependent on belief and gives military exemption to Roman Catholic priests and members of religious orders; the project contradicts section 6 of this article, which declares that government subvention to confessions is to depend on clearly shown need, but the concordat says nothing about this criterion. The project contradicts sections 7 and 8 of this article, which forbid a priest engaging in politics during the exercise of his ministry, but the concordat forbids it altogether. Nor is the project in accord with the 13th article of the constitution, which forbids the setting up on confessional foundations of institutions of physical

culture, but this is permitted to Roman Catholic action. Similarly the project is not in accord with article 16 of the constitution, which declares that in all schools shall reign the principle of religious toleration, but the concordat introduces confessional principles even into State schools ; it also contradicts article 19 of the constitution which states that all places in all grades of the government service shall be equally open to all citizens, since the concordat grants exclusive privileges to Roman Catholic teachers in the State schools. Nor does the project harmonize with article 21 of the constitution which states that marriages have the protection of the State, but the concordat places Roman Catholic and mixed marriages exclusively under the Roman Catholic Church. The concordat does not agree with articles 22 and 23 of the constitution, which give to the State the right of expropriation and the right of intervention in the agricultural relationships of citizens for the sake of justice and to remove social antagonisms ; it is to be observed that the project does not permit the expropriation of lands of the Roman Catholic Church as a result of agrarian reforms.

It is to be observed that representatives of the people, on becoming senators or envoys, take the oath " to observe the constitution." Can they allow such a violation of their sacred oath ?

Further, the chief insufficiency of the concordat with regard to the interests of the State and of the government lies in the fact that it lays very great material burdens on the State in favour of a religious organisation which is already in itself rich and has its centre outside the national frontiers. Article XXVIII of the concordat contradicts article 11 of the constitution and introduces a new criterion for the payment of the governmental subvention to the Roman Catholic Church—a similar proportion to the subventions given to the other confessions, in accord with numbers only, and that means that the subvention to the Roman Catholics must be much increased. According to the project the Roman Catholic Church obtains numerous exclusive privileges with regard to property, which are not possessed by any other confession in our land and not even by the Roman Catholic Church in other countries. Thus, for example, are the rights : to maintain Roman Catholic priests in hospitals and other institutions in unlimited numbers at the expense of the State or of the institutions ; right to the return of confessional funds ; the recognition of the unlimited right to found houses by religious orders from abroad, etc. And these great material sacrifices on the part of the State in favour of the Roman Catholic religious organisation not only will not bring about good relations between the Church and the State, but will be the cause of endless differences between them, since the material assistance given by the State to the Church, according to the regulations of the concordat, is so complicated that the Church will

always have cause for complaint and hence religious peace in the country will be threatened. It is also necessary to observe that unlike the other confessions, whose property is entirely subject to State supervision, the project refers to State supervision only in regard to the State subvention.

Compared with the concordats in the former kingdoms of Serbia and Montenegro and with the concordats in force with other countries, it is seen that the present concordat gives to the Roman Catholic Church privileges and rights such as have no place in the other above-mentioned concordats. Hence it is clear that this project places our land and all other recognised confessions in a position such as has not existed and does not exist in countries where the majority of the population are Roman Catholics and where the Roman Catholic Church is recognised by the constitution as the State Church.

The hierarchs of the Orthodox Church have always rigorously observed and will always observe their obligations to the State but they must also observe their obligations to the Church which they represent. Since both Church and State originate in one and the same source—the will of God—and must both work for the good of the people in full concord, they will, to the end guided by conscience and in holiness, carry out their task indifferent to the consequences which may happen to them personally. Thus they know that if a law breaks the divine law of God, such a law cannot be in accordance with the law of the land and the will of the people and the government but only the result of errors and sins on the part of the bearers of authority. And since this is the case with this project of a concordat, they clearly and vehemently proclaim that its contents violate the fundamental laws of the realm, which are binding not only on private individuals but also on all State officials and in particular on members of His Majesty's Government and of Parliament. Hence the representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church declare that if the project of the concordat, such as it is now, becomes law, they will not be able to and will not recognise it, but in such a case will be compelled by their sacred vow and office, in union with their clergy and flock, to fight with all the means at their command against the carrying out of such a law in our native land.

In consequence of all these objections the Holy Council of Hierarchs has the honour of requesting from the government that this project of a concordat—signed 25th of July, 1935, at Rome—should not be ratified.

THE SERBIAN PATRIARCH,
VARNAVA.

3rd Dec. (*20th Nov.*), 1936.
BELGRADE.

(*Translated from the Serbian by E. N. C. Sergeant.*)

THE FIRST PAN-ORTHODOX CONGRESS OF THEOLOGY.

By (Revd.) William H. Dunphy, Phil.D.

THE First Pan-Orthodox Congress of Theology, held in Athens (29th November to 4th December, 1936), marks an important advance in the history of the Orthodox Church. The Congress was opened by the King, and addressed by the highest dignitaries of Church and State. Membership in the Congress was limited to professors of Orthodox theological faculties of university grade, and all such faculties were represented, Athens, Bucharest, Chisinau, Cernauti, Warsaw, Sophia, Paris and Belgrade. Among the delegates well known to Anglicans and to those interested in the Œcumenical Movement were H.B. the Archbishop of Athens, Professors Alivisatos (the President of the Congress), Arseniev, Zankov, Basdekas, Kartaschoff, Dean Bulgakov, and Fr. Florovsky. Three non-Orthodox observers were present from abroad, the Reverend William H. Dunphy, Ph.D., of the American Church, formerly professor of Dogmatic and Moral Theology, Nashotah House, Professor Lieb of the University of Basle, (formerly of Bonn), and Professor Koch of Königsberg, Editor of *Kyrios*.

Professor Alivisatos outlined the causes of the decadence of Orthodox Theology after the patristic period—among them the acceptance of the modern "Confessions" as true expressions of Orthodoxy, and the undue colouring of Orthodox thought by Roman Catholic or Protestant presuppositions. To-day the Orthodox consciousness was being freed from these influences, and was able once more to return to its patristic sources, and from them to advance anew in the light of all that modern research and theological science set at its disposal. He emphasised the important part the Congress itself had to play, both in elucidating the problems themselves, and in preparing the way for their adequate consideration by an Ecumenical Council, if it should seem advisable to hold one.

Professor Bratsiotis spoke on the fundamental principles of Orthodoxy, deprecating the attempt to subsume it under any one formal principle, but giving certain basic characteristics: fidelity to tradition, dynamically conceived, and to the religious life and piety of the undivided Church; a mystical emphasis on θεώσις, an other-worldly, ascetic and eschatological outlook, which, however, is not hostile to cultural and social activity; the affirmation of hierarchy, but not of hierarchical absolution, and finally œcumenicity, Catholicity.

Dean Bulgakov laid emphasis on the essential nature of the Church as God-manhood, and on the organic conception of

Sobornost, a principle which did not contradict the hierarchical principle, but was correlative with it. The hierarchy was in the Church, not above it, not independent of it. Its authority is of divine institution, but it can speak and act only in and with the Church. A lively discussion ensued.

Professor Vellas (Athens) spoke of Biblical criticism and its relation to revelation and ecclesiastical authority. The Church has nothing to fear from frank and free criticism of the sacred books; all the sober and undoubted results of modern critical scholarship must be accepted. Professor Antoniades (Athens) insisted on the need to get down to the literal sense of Scripture by good philological and technical scholarship, and to leave allegory and fancy alone.

Professor Kartaschoff (Paris) appealed for true freedom, combined with fidelity to tradition. One does not begin his theological research with a blank mind, but with a certain orientation, a world view. The mind of the Church, her living tradition, is what should mould our world-view, with which we approach the problems before us. Fr. Florovsky urged a return to the patristic basis, to a re-Hellenisation of theology and the recovery of the deepest theological insight through the complete enchurchment of our intellect. Professor Balanos (Athens) maintained that the whole faith is to be found in the Scriptures but that tradition gives us the key to their meaning.

The Archbishop of Athens and Fr. Florovsky pointed out various ways in which Orthodox theologians had been unduly influenced by Latin or Protestant thought, and showed how the fidelity of the main body of the Church had preserved the true Orthodox tradition.

Professor Dyovouniotis mentioned several doctrines which it is important to reconsider, with a view to distinguishing Orthodox teaching from Roman Catholicism (*e.g.*, the "indelibility" of orders, transubstantiation, the removal of original sin in Baptism, etc.).

Professors Alivisatos, Balanos and Zankov (Sophia) discussed the question of the holding of an Œcumenical Council. All felt that it was, in the present situation, out of the question, even if there were need of it, which appeared dubious. The practical problems of Church reform could be handled in other ways. A paper by Professor Sesan (Cernauti) dealt with the problem of the convocation of an Ecumenical Synod and that of the revision of the canons and their codification. As opposed to the "Sobornost" view of the Paris School, the faith was committed to the Bishops alone. Professor Gheorghius treated the problem of the calendar.

The mission of the Orthodox Church was discussed by Messrs. Alivisatos, Ispir (Bucharest) and Moraïtis (Athens). The latter emphasised the need of preaching, catechetical work and teaching, in connection with the internal mission of the Church. Professor

Ispir considered that the Church's mission had two principal aspects: internally, the founding of Churches and the transmission of the faith, externally, the struggle against anti-Christian teachings, and especially Communism.

Professor Kartaschoff read a paper, representing the view of the Paris Seminary as a whole, on the need of an international Orthodox journal.

The relation of the Church and social questions was handled by Professors Popovitch (Belgrade) and Paschev (Sophia), and the Church and Culture by Professors Popescu (Bucharest) and Zienkovsky (Paris). The urgent question of Church and State was discussed by Professors Zankov (who contended that "Symphony," not Cæsaropapism was the Orthodox principle) and Alivisatos. A paper by Professor Zyzykine dealt with the Church and International Law. The question of the language to be used in inter-Orthodox communication came in for some discussion, Professor Basdekas (Warsaw) urging the need of familiarity with all the chief languages of the Orthodox Church, others insisting on at least Greek and Russian. Professor Arseniev spoke of the need to stress the supreme, unique reality of God, as opposed to all pantheistic and naturalistic conceptions. The Christian God is a God who is above the world, yet in it, as a power in history. Both poles are united in Christ, and the nature of the Church is to be viewed in the light of this union.

It will be seen that the scope of the Congress was very wide indeed—so wide, in fact, that there was little time to come to grips with each subject, and still less for discussion. But as the president pointed out in his closing address, the purpose of the first Congress was not to solve these problems at once, or even to discuss them exhaustively, but to set them forth and begin the work of considering them, in preparation for future Congresses. Considered in this light, it would be difficult to overestimate the significance of this Congress. It has transcended the national and other differences within Orthodoxy, has both expressed and deepened its essential unity, has focussed the mind of the Church on the great problems of the day, both intellectual and practical, and has given a new impetus to Œcumenical Christianity, which was never lost sight of even in the discussions which at first blush were purely internal questions of the Orthodox Church.

Certain resolutions were passed. After expressing its satisfaction that the principal questions confronting Orthodoxy were set forth and discussed, the Congress resolved to publish the reports of the sessions which will serve as the bases for further discussion; it proposed the codification of the canons by a commission of canonists of the various Orthodox theological faculties, which should submit its findings through the Œcumenical Patriarch for the Church's sanction, and also a commission to prepare a critical edition of the

109236

liturgical books ; it recognised the necessity for a common Orthodox theological journal, and requested the Metropolitan of Cernauti (who gave generously to this end) to take the financial responsibility upon himself ; it expressed its will to collaborate with the "Œcumenical Movement " in an Orthodox spirit ; it recommended a common day of prayer for all the Orthodox theological faculties (the Feast of the Three Hierarchs) ; it proposed a closer collaboration of the Orthodox schools of theology, through an exchange of professors and students ; it expressed its deep sympathy with the persecuted Russian Church and with all who suffer for their faith in Christ ; and it set the next Pan-Orthodox Congress for 1939 in Bucharest, the chief subjects to be the sources of Orthodox Theology, and the Social Task of the Church.

ZOE: A BROTHERHOOD OF GREEK THEOLOGIANS.

By Dr. P. Bratsiotes.

Professor of the Old Testament in the University of Athens.

THE Brotherhood of Theologians *Zoe* was founded by the Archimandrite Eusebios Matthopoulos, who died in 1929, and by the doctors of the Theological Faculty of Athens, Archimandrite Dionysios Farajoules (died in 1920), Panagiotes Trembelas, Demetrios Panagiotopoulos, and Archimandrite Ignatios Koliopoulos. Existing since 1907 it appeared publicly through the publication of its periodical " *Zoe* " in 1911, from which it has taken its name. The meaning of the word " *Zoe* " is " Life " and this title was chosen for reasons implied in the texts John vi, 63 and xiv, 6 which are printed on the frontispiece of this weekly paper.

The Brotherhood is an organisation more or less monastic in character with this essential difference that while its membership consists exclusively of unmarried men, they are not obliged to take formal vows of celibacy. With the exception of those only who are ordained deacons or priests, all the others hold the right to withdraw from the Brotherhood whenever they wish, and to enter the married state, when they cease to be members of the Brotherhood, but remain its friends ; and some of these friends have contributed more valuable services to the society as such than as members.

The Brotherhood is organised cœnobitically and has as its leader or superior a cleric, who holds his position for life. After the death

of the founder Eusebios, the Archimandrite Serapheim Papacostas, a graduate of the Theological Faculty and preacher in the Cathedral of Athens, succeeded to this position. The administration of the leader is not at all monarchical, but he is surrounded by a council of four other brothers. The place of the Brotherhood in the Church is not officially recognised. It is simply a private and independent organisation recognised only by the state as a corporation under the name "Brotherhood of Theologians, *Zoe*." As this title implies, the majority of its members are theologians, and are all graduates or doctors of Divinity. But other members also are accepted, who become engaged in the printing, the bookstore, the office, and the other duties of the Brotherhood. Very diligent care has been taken that all the members of this cœnobium, from the superior to the cooks and printers, should have the same spirit and the same ideals. Each creates by himself his own place in the Brotherhood, taking a position in it according to his services and his devotion but not according to his studies and his titles. Accordingly a freshly joined theologian and preacher may be considered inferior to an older and more devoted worker.

The total personnel of the *Zoe* is about eighty. Of these only sixty-two are members, namely, forty-four theologians, one lawyer, three physicians, one astronomer. The others are helping workers (clerks in the office, printers, cooks, etc.). All the theologians are preachers and directors of Sunday Schools, twelve of them are clerics. In other words the great majority of the members are laymen ; nevertheless all are competent, and are authorised by the bishops to preach. The Brotherhood is growing steadily in numbers but it regards the quality of its workers as more important than mere numbers. Hence much time is given to the training of workers in order to imbue them with a spirit of Christian discipline, sacrifice and service.

The Brotherhood does not accept donations. The brothers have in common all the income of their work as preachers or as authors. They have only the right according to their wish to dispose of their patrimony, if they have one. Its members who have property derived from their family are very few. None the less, the Brotherhood has been supported generously by the offerings of its devoted members. So *Zoe* has acquired a building, in which its members live and which contains about sixty rooms ; another building with a perfect installation of printing with two new printing presses ; a bookstore with a full book-bindery ; and in common with the corporation of the Home Mission Society of "St. Paul," founded by *Zoe*, it has bought in the centre of Athens a large building for Home Mission purposes.

There is no written rule concerning the internal organisation of the Brotherhood, but there is a strong living tradition realised by

all the members, who must cultivate the Unity of the Brotherhood and be faithful to its principles in all obedience and humility. In this the example has been given by the elder members and by the superior himself. Its clerical members have made repeated statements that they will not accept ecclesiastical preferments (bishops' sees, etc.) and many of its older members remain laymen, although they might have become bishops.

The chief purposes of *Zoe* have been from its inception that the members should live Christ in their lives and that they should work for the awakening of Christian life among others and to this end first they preached the Word, then they instituted literary work, the office of confession, and catechetic instruction as the chief concerns of *Zoe's* members.

In endeavouring to give a picture of the work which *Zoe* is doing in Greece, one should give the first place to the office and calling of preaching the Gospel. From the first the chief concern of the Brotherhood has been to find and train preachers. Most of *Zoe's* preachers are located in the provincial centres of Greece for definite periods. At present four are located in the Peloponnesus, four in Epirus, six in Macedonia, one in Thrace, three in Crete, one in Thessaly, two in Sterea Hellas, two in the islands (Chios and Mytilene), one in Cyprus (Larnaca), about ten others in Athens and Piræus. Members of *Zoe* preach regularly at both the morning and evening services in the cathedrals of Athens and the Piræus.

All these preachers return to the centre (Athens) twice a year (at Christmas, and in the summer); and especially during forty days in the summer all the members live together in retreat at St. Paraskeve (near Athens) where they give account of their conduct during the past ten months, and putting themselves under the control of the entire fraternity accept willingly its advice or criticism.

All these preachers speak without notes, taking generally their themes from the Gospel or the Epistle of the day and applying its teachings to the everyday life of the hearers. In the afternoon services they usually take portions of the New Testament and treat them exegetically and practically. They teach those truths which the common hearer can understand and, theologically, they are more interested in the practical Christian life than in theoretical or historical problems. That is why always and everywhere the churches are crowded when the *Zoe* brothers preach.

The literary and publication work of the Brotherhood is manifested chiefly in the publication of its weekly organ, the "*Zoe*"—which has a circulation of about 76,000 and goes to every corner of Greece. Also the New Testament has been printed by it and about 50,000 copies have been disposed of since its first publication in 1929. This edition was approved by the Patriarch of Constantinople and the

Holy Synod of Greece ; as also the edition of the Old Testament, the *Septuaginta* (about 3,000 copies). On the other hand about sixty other editions of apologetic and edifying books and of Christian stories have been printed and published and are sold at very moderate prices. For example, subscription price of "*Zoe*" is 20 drachmas (less than a shilling) for a year. The dearest of all the Brotherhood books is the Old Testament which is sold for about five shillings.

As regards Confession, the Brotherhood is convinced by experience that it is the strongest agency to strengthen souls in the Christian life and to make firm their conversion. In it the confessor has his opportunity to teach sinners according to their needs. But unhappily there are very few confessors, because it is much more difficult to develop confessors than to train preachers ; and it requires much individual genius and great maturity in virtue and experience to be a proper confessor. For this reason, the Brotherhood has only eight confessors. Three of them work during the whole year in Athens and the Piræus. The others remain in the provinces working first during three or four months in the sees of the dioceses and then travelling to the smaller towns and villages where after one or two sermons the people begin to confess during many days from morning until night. This work provides for the Church living members and awakens souls from the torpor of sin.

The religious movement in *Zoe* is concerned with the life and training of the young in Christian truth and practice. The new movement in Greece regarding Sunday Schools is for the most part a creation of *Zoe*. An attempt (in 1870) to found Sunday Schools in Greece had no permanent effect, because an accusation was made against the movement that it was an heretic innovation. From this it is possible to envisage the obstacles which the new attempt of *Zoe* for the same end had to overcome. But to-day the field has been prepared by the propagation of preaching. Moreover the new venture which began ten years ago had the favour of the Archbishop of Athens, Chrysostom. In 1927, seven Sunday Schools were founded in Athens and Piræus and since then new advances have been made every year in the propagation and founding of such schools. Last year *Zoe* had under its direction in all Greece 298 Sunday Schools, namely 236 primary, 48 junior and 14 senior with 30,590 pupils, of whom 75 per cent. attended the course of lessons regularly. In Larnaca in Cyprus also 4 Sunday Schools have been founded with 525 pupils. This year special Sunday Schools for girls are being started (about 15 in Athens and the Piræus) where young ladies are the teachers. These young ladies, chosen from among the more pious and well-educated auditors of *Zoe's* preachers, were trained in their work last summer in the Brotherhood's chapel at St. Paraskeve by Dr. Panagiotopoulos.

This modern method is now definitely established in Greece and Sunday or Catechetical Schools are now being founded by many others. That is why the present interest of the brothers of *Zoe* is less for the increase of the number of its schools, than for the proper equipment of all such schools by the training good teachers. To this end it arranges every week a meeting for Sunday School teachers in which model lessons are given. Moreover in 1933 *Zoe* began to publish books containing courses of lessons for teachers. Up to the present eight such books have been published, namely, three books containing the outlines of ninety lessons for a three years' course for the primary schools, three other books with outlines of ninety lessons for a course of three years' lessons for the intermediate or junior schools, and two (another is in the press) for the senior schools. As was foreseen the publication of these books has contributed to the multiplication of schools and to their more systematic functioning. These books are made use of not only in the Kingdom of Greece but also in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, and even in America, in the catechetic schools of the orthodox American bishoprics.

The programme which has been adopted according to the experience of the workers of *Zoe* envisages a course of nine years' lessons, three years for each school; that is, primary, junior, and senior schools. The lessons may be characterised as uniform and at the same time as not uniform. They are uniform because they are concerned with the same cycle of truth. They are not uniform because the same truths are taught in each of these three schools with different teaching material. In the first year the lessons are taught in the primary school having as their directive idea, " The Heavenly Father." Similarly the directive idea in the junior school is " God and His children." And in the senior school " God and the World." But the same truths are taught throughout, that is, the truth of God as Creator, Provider and Lawgiver, and the duties of Man to God. But in the primary schools these truths are taught with stories from the Old Testament. In the junior schools they are taught immediately from the text of the Bible by the reading and study of well-chosen passages. In the senior schools these truths are taught by apologetic arguments. In the second year the directive idea in the lessons of the primary schools is " The Son of God " and in the junior schools " The Good Shepherd." That is, in both schools the teaching turns upon the person of Jesus Christ. The third year the directive idea of the lessons is in the primary schools " The Holy Spirit " (The Comforter) and in the junior " The Divine Building." In other words, in both schools the work of the Holy Spirit in the Church is the subject of instruction

In the catechetic schools the principal purpose is to create religious personalities; that the boys and girls may be led to the Lord,

that they may live the life of the Lord; that they may be united with Him in the Church and to the Church by and in Him, so that they may become living members of Christ's body. For this purpose each lesson is applied to the life of the boys; it is summed up at the end in one proposition and in one golden text from the Bible, and the boys are called upon to sketch a prayer with their own words expressing the sentiments which the lesson has produced in them. On the other hand by the confession of their sins to the priests, by special youth-masses, and by Holy Communion, the endeavour is made to bring them into contact with Divine Grace. At the same time their participation in acts of charity and humanity is cultivated.

Music is particularly cultivated. The general directors of the catechetic schools of *Zoe* have musical experience. New religious songs are composed by them, which are very pleasing so that very often we hear them sung in the streets. Moreover they have been introduced into many public schools where the pupils of the Sunday Schools teach them to their schoolmates. Excursions also are made under the direction of the teachers.

Mention should be made of the new method of approach to university students in Athens. The *Zoe* Society and the corporation of the Home Mission of "St. Paul" purchased three years ago a large building near the centre of Athens, which is used for meetings of university students and at which religious and scientific problems are discussed. The two corporations propose to demolish the present building and to erect a modern structure which will provide rooms for meetings, a small chapel, and a lunch-room as well as lecture-rooms for groups of students. At present by restorations and repairs the old building has been made usable for some years. In this way the *Zoe* Society is endeavouring to bring a Christian impact to bear upon the lives of students in the University of Athens.

In regard to the impression produced at the inception of *Zoe* and to its influence in Greece, it should be noted that in its first years *Zoe's* brothers were accused as heretics and were brought twice to trial before the Holy Synod, viz., in 1914 and in 1923. The second time the accusation was examined by all the bishops of Old Greece, *i.e.*, by thirty-two bishops. The result of this detailed inquisition was a decision by which the brothers of *Zoe* were recognised by the Greater Holy Synod to be not simply innocent and orthodox but very valuable workers in the vineyard of the Lord. This was a real triumph for *Zoe* and was followed by great conquests. To-day its influence and authority are well established in Greece. Although there are some bishops who are still suspicious of it, the majority of them value it and the more prominent among them are its friends and protectors. But its real power rests in the esteem of the people.

The pious and religious people of Greece are the principal support of *Zoe* and from their awakening *Zoe* awaits the regeneration of the Greek Church.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

By The Great Archimandrite Constantinides.

THE Holy Eastern Orthodox Church is the church of the Apostolic tradition. And as on all other questions we kept the tradition which came down from our Lord and the Apostles through the Holy Fathers, so also on this great and most important point of church doctrine we keep faithfully the tradition of the Fathers. On account of their exemplary lives these holy men succeeded more than anyone else in the correct understanding of the teaching of the Holy Scriptures. Giving, therefore, the only sound interpretation to the words of our Lord: "This is my body," "This is my blood," they all understood these as meaning the very body and the very blood, which we partake of in the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist under the visible signs of bread and wine. And being convinced beyond all doubt of the real presence of our Lord in this great sacrament, they never thought of defending this great truth as self-evident. The only thing upon which they insist is a due preparation for the Sacrament and worthily partaking of it as often as possible. Following in the steps of the Holy Fathers, the Orthodox Church neither felt any doubt as to the real presence of our Lord in the Holy Sacrament, nor has ever tried to define the way in which the elements of bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. The mind of the Church concerning these two points is magnificently expressed on the one hand by the seventh Œcumenical Council, which has declared: "Neither our Lord nor His Apostles nor the Fathers described as a picture the bloodless sacrifice offered by the priest, but as the very Body and the very Blood. And after the consecration, they are and are believed to be the real Body and Blood of Christ." On the other hand, St. John of Damascus says: "The very bread and wine are changed into God's Body and Blood. And if thou want to know how it happens, it is sufficient for thee to hear that it happens through the Holy Ghost in the same way in which our Lord took flesh upon Himself from the Holy Mother of God through the Holy Ghost. We do not know anything more, except that the word of God is true, powerful and omnipotent and the manner in which it happens is unfathomable."

The Orthodox Church uses three expressions for the designation of the most Holy Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. These expressions are: θ. Εὐχαριστία—Holy Eucharist, θ. Κοινωνία—Holy Communion and Ἀναίμαμια θυσία, bloodless sacrifice. These three expressions represent the three aspects from which the Holy Sacrament can be considered.

We call it first the Holy Eucharist, θ. Εὐχαριστία, which means in English thanksgiving from the verb Εὐχαριστω—I thank, because, according to St. Luke and St. Paul at the Last Supper, our Lord "took bread and gave thanks, and brake it and gave unto them." Our Lord at that solemn moment when He was going to hand over to His Disciples the sacrament of His Body and Blood, which, administered by all the following generations, would declare His death on the Cross; at that moment when He was on the threshold, as it were, of the great tragedy on the Calvary, His crucifixion, through which He would secure salvation to all mankind; at that moment He gave thanks to His Heavenly Father for His infinite mercy towards mankind. He gave thanks to His Father, for He took pity on man, and having loved him, He did not leave man in the darkness of sin and destruction, but sent Him to enlighten and teach mankind and show them the only way, and the truth and the life of salvation. He also thanked His Heavenly Father, for He was going to finish the work committed unto Him and resume the glory which He had before the world was created. We also, in offering the most Holy Sacrament which reminds us above everything else of God's providence for us, thank God for all the benefits which we have received and are still receiving. We thank God in particular because out of nothing He brought us into existence, and having transgressed His commandments through our forefather Adam, He did not neglect us, but came to save us through His Son "that they who died in Adam might be made alive in Christ Himself." All these reasons for our thankfulness and gratitude towards God are explained in that prayer of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom in which it is said: "Meet and right it is to hymn thee, to bless thee, to praise thee, to give thanks to thee, to adore thee . . . for Thou out of nothing has brought us into being, and when we were fallen hast raised us again and hast not given over working all things, till Thou has brought us back to heaven, and bestowed on us Thy kingdom to come. For all these things we give thanks to Thee, and to Thine Only-begotten Son, and to Thy Holy Spirit, for all whereof we know, and whereof we know not, the seen, and the unseen benefits." We thank also God, according to the same prayer of St. John Chrysostom, for the Holy gifts He deigns to receive at our hands, although about Him there stand thousands of Archangels, and myriads of Angels, the Cherubim, and the Seraphim. We thank lastly our Heavenly Father when we offer this great sacrament, for it illustrates in the best manner the

words spoken by our Lord to Nicodemus : " God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

We also call this great Mystery Κοινωνία Communion, *i.e.*, partaking of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. By this name we wish to emphasise the significance and the results the Body and Blood of Christ have upon our spiritual life. As the body needs material food to be sustained, and without it is exhausted and in the end dies ; and as our body grows unhealthy and weak when we eat only at long intervals ; so also our spiritual life needs spiritual food for its existence and regular feeding for its normal growth. The spiritual food for the Christian soul is the communion of the Body and Blood of our Blessed Lord. And as a starving man cannot be fed by merely collecting material food and dishes, but must eat and satisfy his empty stomach ; so also those who are starving spiritually cannot be fed by merely remembering the Last Supper which our Lord had with His elect disciples, but they must eat His very Body and drink His Blood for the remission of sins and to attain everlasting life. " For my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed," said the Lord. Our Lord anticipating this great sacrament called Himself bread when He said : " I am the bread of life . . . I am the living bread, which came down from heaven . . . and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world." Moreover, urging the absolute necessity of partaking of His very Body and His very Blood by all who believe in Him as a *sine qua non* condition of the existence of their spiritual life, He said : " Verily, verily I say unto you. Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink of His Blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life ; and I will raise him up at the last day." Being fed spiritually, however, with the Body and Blood of Christ we are at the same time united with our Blessed Saviour who came down from heaven, was incarnate, walked on this earth, was crucified, rose from the dead and ascended into heaven. Our Lord in His infinite love and mercy through the Sacrament of His Body and Blood would have Himself united with us. A Christian can, of course, get into spiritual touch with our Lord by always remembering Him and His redemptive work. Especially is he able to be in communion with Christ by earnest prayer in which all the mental and spiritual powers of men take part—feeling, intelligence, will, but in order to strengthen and complete our spiritual life and secure life everlasting we want, as our Lord said, something more than a mere touch, or a mere communion ; we want a union with Him. Prayer and meditation and spiritual watch upon our life are excellent means against all attacks of temptation and sin, and for the deepening and preserving of our spiritual life. All these, however, are preparatory, so to speak, and converge to the

culminating and indispensable point of our union with Christ through the most Holy Sacrament of His very Body and very Blood. Our Lord Himself declared quite plainly: "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me and I in him, and he that eateth me, even he shall live by me."

It has been our Lord's will to give His followers the possibility of union with Himself. This was His earnest wish expressed emphatically in His words which we have just mentioned and they are so plain that no other interpretation can be given to them.

The Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, however, is not only the spiritual food for our soul, but also the most drastic medicine for our spiritual, as well as for our bodily diseases. They are God Himself, and that is the very life. Strong faith in God and in our salvation through Jesus Christ, sincere repentance from our past sins, and equally sincere resolution not to commit willingly a mortal sin, adjustment of our everyday life to the example of our Lord's ever living personality; these are necessary conditions under which a healing of even our bodily diseases can be obtained through the reception of the Holy Sacrament. To these conditions St. Paul was referring when he said: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body. For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep." Last July, I gave the Holy Communion to a Greek woman who had been treated for T.B. for four months at the Brompton Hospital. She of her own accord asked for the spiritual medicine; she told me earnestly that she had heard from her mother that the power of the Holy Sacrament was great, even for our worst bodily diseases. A week after she had taken the Holy Communion she was absolutely cured, this wonderful healing being confirmed by a thorough X-ray examination. Many prayers of our Church connected with the Holy Liturgy refer to the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ as a spiritual medicine. For instance after the consecration, the priest prays that the Body and Blood of Christ "may be to those that partook unto sobriety of soul, unto remission of sins, unto communion of Thy Holy Spirit . . . unto boldness towards Thee, not unto judgment, not unto condemnation." And the faithful, after receiving the Holy Sacrament, prays that the Body and Blood of Christ given "for the well-being and sanctification of our souls and bodies, may be to me for the healing of my soul and body, for the averting of everything hostile, for the enlightenment of the eye, of my heart, for peace of my spiritual powers."

If you read, however, the text of our Liturgy carefully, you will find that the word by which in most cases the Church refers to the

Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ is "sacrifice." "Thou has committed to us the celebration of this rite and of the Bloodless sacrifice." "O Lord . . . who dost receive the sacrifice of praise from those that call upon Thee." "Again we offer to Thee this reasonable and Bloodless worship." The very words with which our Lord constituted the Holy Sacrament contain in themselves the idea of sacrifice. Offering to His disciples the consecrated bread He says to them: "Take, eat, this is my Body which is broken for you." And giving to them the consecrated cup, He said: "My Blood . . . which is shed for you and for many." In all these sentences, there is the idea of sacrifice. When our Lord gave to His Apostles the cup He said: "This is my Blood of the New Testament." It is well known, however, that the blood through which the New Testament between God and men was ratified, was the real blood of our Lord shed upon the Cross. When, therefore, our Lord identifies the consecrated wine in the cup with His blood shed upon the Cross, it follows that for Him they are both equal and identical and consequently the sacrifice upon the Cross is equal and identical with the Sacrament committed to His Apostles at the Last Supper. May we believe that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ is the continuation itself of His incarnation and His redemptive work. "Believe," says St. John Chrysostom, "that even now it is that Supper at which He Himself sat down. For this is in no respect different from that. For neither doth man make this and Himself the other—but both, this and that is His own work. When, therefore, thou seest the priest delivering it unto thee, account not that it is the priest that doth so, but that it is Christ's hand that is stretched out." (In St. Matthew Hom. 1, 3.) And further "He Who then did those things at that Supper is He Who now also accomplishes them. We hold the rank of ministers. But it is He Who consecrates and transforms them." (Hom. lxxxii, 5.) I should like also to quote what a great Byzantine religious and scholar of the fourteenth century says on this matter: "On the sacred rite of the Eucharist, the whole incarnation of Christ is written in the bread as on a writing tablet. For as in a figure we behold Him as a babe, and led to death, and crucified, and pierced in His side; then also the bread itself changed into that all-holy Body which really endured this, and rose from the dead, and was taken into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. . . . And so the whole celebration of the Mystery is as one image of the whole body of the economy of our Lord." The sacrificial character of the Holy Sacrament is pointed out also by St. Paul when he says: "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come." Moreover, most of the terms used in connection with the offering of the Holy Sacrament convey the idea of sacrifice, for instance: offer, priest, altar, victim, table, eat, drink, etc. The Holy Eucharist is therefore a representative sacrifice

and secondly a real one. It is a representation of the sacrifice upon the cross, for through the consecrated Bread and Wine it represents the sacrifice upon Calvary. On the other hand, it is a real and proper sacrifice, for our Lord is really present under the bread and wine according to the unanimous testimony, both of the New Testament and the Holy Tradition and the conscience of the Catholic Church of all the ages. This testimony is expressed in the following words said inaudibly by the priest : " O Lord Jesus Christ . . . come and sanctify us. Thou Who sittest above with the Father and art here invisibly present with us." From what has been said we come to the conclusion that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ was constituted by Him in order to take place for ever as a continuation and bloodless repetition of the one great sacrifice. " When Christ offered up Himself." It is the will, plain and decisive, of our Lord Himself that the Bloodless Sacrifice should be offered. " This do in remembrance of me." That it should be offered up to His coming again, as St. Paul says : " Ye do show the Lord's death till He comes." And as the sacrifice on Calvary was offered for all mankind, so also its continuation and bloodless repetition is a propitiatory sacrifice offered for all living and dead. Through the bloodless sacrifice we, the living members of the Church militant, by receiving the Body and Blood of Christ worthily, obtain remission of sins and all the salutary results of the redemptive work of our Saviour and those who have departed get great benefit. In the prayer following the consecration of the holy Elements the Church emphasises that the sacrifice is offered not only for the living, but even for " those who have fallen asleep in the Faith, Forefathers, Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Preachers, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Ascetics, and every righteous spirit in faith made perfect." St. Cyril of Jerusalem says : " After all consecration we commemorate also those who have departed, Holy Fathers, Bishops and all those who have fallen asleep, believing that the souls of those whom we commemorate, while the holy and most awful sacrifice is offered, greatly will benefit."

TRAINING THE ORTHODOX PRIEST.

By Walton Hannah.

THE Archdiocese of Bukovina, now in northern Rumania, has two great advantages. One is its magnificent endowments, which make it probably the richest province of the Orthodox Church. The other is the outstanding steward of this goodly heritage,

the Archbishop Visarion, who has occupied the Metropolitan throne of Bukovina since 1935, and is not only a brilliant scholar and delightful Christian gentleman, but also a singularly able administrator gifted with real imagination and foresight. Hence it is safe to say that a great deal more will be heard in the future of one of his most absorbing interests, the Theological College which adjoins his vast Byzantine Palace at Cernăuţi, (Czernowitz before the War). This has now ceased to serve the Rumanian Church exclusively, and offers ten scholarships, out of a total of fifty, to students from other branches of the Church. This year there are representatives from Bulgaria, whose technical schism matters not a whit in this brotherly atmosphere, from Greece, from the Orthodox Churches in Czecho-Slovakia, Finland, and the United States, and the present writer from England. Shortly they are to receive an Arab from the Jerusalem Patriarchate, and further Anglicans. And among the Rumanians, there are some of Ruthenian stock.

This brotherliness, fellowship, *sobornost*, call it what you will, dominates the atmosphere here. The students come mostly from the simple, kindly life of the villages, wearing their picturesque and graceful peasant dress; and most of them will go back to the villages, to identify themselves with the people they serve. And at the College there is no place for individualism. They sleep eight to a dormitory, and share studies in the same numbers, so everything is done together. They really *live* the oft-repeated words of the Byzantine liturgy, "With all the Saints, let us commend ourselves one to another, and all our life to Christ our God." It would be a fatal error to regard their intense interest in all one's actions and possessions, in the contents of the letters one receives, or even in the age of one's mother, as impertinent curiosity, for the business of one *is* the business of all. They possess the virtue of complete openness to an extent perhaps unfortunately unknown to the average inhibited Englishman!

The day begins early here, with the ringing of the bell at six, and it is the duty of the fourth-year student who acts as prefect in each long whitewashed dormitory to see that everyone is up in time for prayers at half-past six. Breakfast follows at seven-thirty, and Orthodox refectories incidentally have a picture of the Last Supper in place of the western Crucifix, to which everyone turns when the lengthy grace is said. Classes begin at eight. Dinner is at one, after which students are allowed out into the town for a little, though they must wear cassocks. There are more classes later in the afternoon, supper is at seven-thirty, prayers again at eight, and bed at ten. The unaccompanied singing in elaborate harmonies is really superb, especially in the Holy Liturgy on Sundays and festivals; for Vespers on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, however,

older forms of strictly modal music are used. Several hours a week are regularly devoted to choir-practice.

The theological course lasts four years, and is thorough and comprehensive. Besides the subjects that one would normally expect, such as dogmatics, exegesis, Church history and liturgics, it includes for all students Hebrew, Aramaic, Biblical archæology, canon law and ancient music. And during those four years each student has to make up his mind irrevocably whether he will marry and enter the ranks of the secular clergy, or remain celibate and become a regular. As the great bulk of the students here follow the former course, matrimony plays an important, if unofficial part of college life, especially in the final year. The college does all it can to help by providing an annual dance. On the whole the system seems to work admirably, though there is a possible danger that matrimony may be regarded merely as a necessary preliminary sacrament to ordination, as penance may be to the Eucharist (!). And awkward situations occasionally arise—one student here recently nearly forfeited his title because his fiancée broke off the engagement at the last minute! Fortunately, however, another student gallantly produced his sister to fill the gap in time for the ordination to proceed.

The principal recreation is the weekly meeting of the Orthodox Academy, as it is called, a society which includes most of the students doing the theological tripos, whether they are resident in the college or not. These meetings take place in the college common-room, and start with the reading of a paper, usually on some theological subject. (But not always; the last I heard was on the Feminine Problem!) This is followed by a discussion. Then come songs, piano and instrumental pieces—native peasant dance-tunes are by far the most popular—and the reading of personal epigrams, anonymously contributed. The singing of their own special song brings the meeting to a close.

How often one hears the accusation that the Orthodox Church is too "other worldly," and takes no care for the material welfare of her people in this earthly life! My experience so far has been very different; all the students here take a keen interest in politics and social affairs. Many participate actively in political affairs, at least until the new government regulations came into force a few weeks ago banning student politics. Newspapers and periodicals of all parties are eagerly read in the common-room. Whether or no one agrees entirely with the political opinions which the majority of them adopt, or whether it is wise for them to enter politics to the extent that they do is for the moment beside the point. The fact remains that here at least Orthodox ordinands realise that the full Christian life, like the Holy Ghost which inspires it, not only "fills the House of God," but also "the sinful world around." The

Orthodox Church has played an important part in the recent history of Central and Eastern Europe. Her future priests are determined that this part shall not be lessened.

A VISIT TO THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF TRAVANCORE.

By the Right Revd. Noel Hall, Bishop of Chota Nagpur.

THE gentle reader must not expect to find in this article a full historical investigation of the causes of the present divided state of the ancient Syrian Church of Malankara. What follows is a record of impressions received and information gleaned during a month's visit last year confined to that section of the Jacobites which owes allegiance to the Catholicos of the East. Those who desire to understand more fully the complexities of the present condition of the Christian Church in Travancore and Cochin may be referred to the accurate and well-documented pages of Mr. P. Cheriyan's *The Malabar Christians and the Church Missionary Society*, 1816–1840, published in 1935 by the C.M.S. Press at Kottayam, though the most recent developments lie outside its scope.

After four nights and days in the train I disembarked about 11 o'clock in the morning of the Vigil of St. Mark—according to our Western calendar—at Alwaye, and was then hurled through a green and pleasant land by buses no more sumptuous than the conveyances which ply in the backward plateau of Chota Nagpur, first to Kottayam some fifty miles away and then twenty miles farther on to Tiruvella. Here on arrival I sampled the first of the many luscious pineapples I consumed during my visit, and here I stayed over the week-end as the guest of Mar Severius. Tiruvella is not far from the tomb of the saintly Mar Gregorius at Paramalæ, where the famous Students' Conference was in session this year. Two of the Oxford Mission fathers had been attending the conference ; and on Sunday afternoon Fr. Blair and myself were two of the orators chosen to address a great anniversary meeting of the *Martha Mariam Vanitha Samajam* —the Syrian equivalent of our Mothers' Union—gathered under a *pandal* at Tiruvella. The Syrians have a great passion for listening to orations on religious themes, which it is not easy to weary out, and I happened to arrive just at the season of the year when these feasts of oratory are most in vogue.

On Tuesday I journeyed to Patanamthitta and there remained for

the next fortnight as the guest of Mar Philoxenus. Here I fulfilled the chief purpose of my visit, the delivery of a course of lectures on the theology of the Sacraments. Patanamthitta lies among the hills which gradually climb up to the Western Ghats. The Catholicos Memorial High School, where the lectures were given and the class and I were housed, is beautifully situated on the top of a hill commanding a most entrancing view of the country which, in the decrees of the Synod of Diamper, the Portuguese oppressor described as the Serra, and of palm-clad valleys below. This is the citadel of Syrian independence: the Roman Church never succeeded in completely establishing its sway outside the coast lands, with the result that ecclesiastical divisions have been partly determined by geography. Inland, the Churches of the Jacobite and Mar Thoma Christians with their uniform three-stepped roofs are the most conspicuous monuments of Christianity: in the coast lands the numerous wayside Gothic shrines protected by an iron grille bear witness to the ascendancy of the Church of Rome.

While I was at Patanamthitta, His Holiness the Catholicos endured the fatigues of a forty-mile journey from Kottayam to pay us a visit, and was photographed in the centre of the class. Owing to an indisposition I had to curtail my visit and was, alas, unable to accept his invitation to stay at the Old Seminary in Kottayam, which was the centre of the original mission of succour conducted by the early C.M.S. missionaries.

My impressions are a medley of things new and old. I will first try to recapture my reactions to the ancient traditions which have been preserved with such fidelity throughout the centuries.

Just before my visit I had been reading Fr. Hebert's book, *Liturgy and Society*. The moral of that most timely book is that the salvation of Western Christendom lies in a return to primitive ideals of worship. After assisting at the venerable liturgy of St. James at Tiruvella on my first Sunday in Travancore, even deeper and more predominant than the thrill of being amidst an Indian people whose ancestors had been Christians when my own were heathen, was the sense that I had been worshipping in all essentials as the primitive Church had worshipped. Some of the ceremonial, no doubt, was peculiarly Indian, especially the more audible accompaniments of the great moments of the liturgy—the ringing of bells and the rattle of the disc-shaped fans: some features of the liturgy, notably the insertion of the words "Who was crucified for us" in the *trisagion*, recalled the controversies following the Council of Chalcedon which ended in the assertion of Syrian independence of the great Church of Byzantium. But these things are subordinate and accidental: the main tradition derives unaltered from the primitive Church: the Holy *Kurbana* is the Church's proclamation of her faith in the mystery of Redemption, and in this proclamation

the whole body of the faithful take their part. The more solemn parts of the liturgy are still recited in sonorous Syriac, which is not understood by the people, but this in no way hinders either their devotion or their attention, as, guided by the deacon, they share in one of the most sublime prayers of Christendom.

But not only has the tradition of primitive worship survived; many of the details witness to a continuity which the Western Church has lost. Here follows a somewhat random list of some of these primitive features. At a pontifical High Mass two priests concelebrate with the bishop at the two side altars which in most of the churches flank the steps which go up to the curtained sanctuary. The Bishop is still regarded as the normal minister of all the sacraments so that when he is present no priest may baptize or give Chrism. Chrism administered to infants with holy oil blessed by the Patriarch or the Catholicos follows immediately after the baptism of water. The primitive Agape survives in the distribution of blessed bread which the worshippers receive fasting at the conclusion of the liturgy. The people stand to worship, the men in front and the women behind. My visit coincided with Eastertide and I was reminded of the Nicene canon which forbade the faithful to kneel during that season. The Oriental Easter in 1936 fell on the same day as our Western Easter. The Jacobites still follow the Julian Calendar, and although I had spent the 23rd April in travelling, I was nevertheless able to keep the feast of England's most international patron Saint with proper pomp some twelve days later. The adjuncts and appurtenances of Syrian worship, however, are by no means all primitive. Ecclesiastical art is a monopoly of Romo-Syrian craftsmen, and the many candlesticks on the altars of Jacobite Churches are for the most part copied from Renaissance models. Similarly, the pinnacled Western façade, which is so characteristic a feature of Jacobite Church architecture, was obviously borrowed originally from the Portuguese.

In the Eastern Churches the relation of a bishop to his flock is above all symbolised by the pre-eminent part assigned to him in liturgy and worship: consequently an inventory of the ornaments and insignia of the Syrian bishops has an interest other than the purely sartorial. The ordinary outdoor dress of a bishop is a purple cassock, sometimes girded with a golden girdle: on his head he wears a black silk cap spangled with little white crosses and with a flap hanging down behind. This latter indicates that he is a monk or *rabban* of the Order of St. Antony. On more ceremonious occasions he dons a flowing black gown and a circular black diadem tapering to a point. When he officiates the vestments peculiar to the bishop are a magnificent scarlet cowl with gold embroideries and the pall, a broad strip of cloth of gold hanging down to the ankles both in front and behind, over the chasuble, which is, of

course, shaped like a cope. But perhaps the most distinctive symbol of the Bishop's office apart from his ring, which the faithful kiss with the utmost naturalness, is the golden cross studded with jewels which he holds against the foreheads of those he blesses. The mitre is not worn in Church, but when I paid him a farewell visit the Catholicos showed me a very splendid mitre which he wears as a symbol of temporal dignity when he represents his community at State functions. I was told that he also wears on these occasions a cloth of gold *mozzetta*. Doubtless these ornaments were adopted through Roman influences. Incidentally I was shown at the same time the precious copper plates on which is inscribed the charter of privileges granted many centuries ago to his loyal Christian subjects by an ancient Hindu king of Travancore.

One external matter calls for a passing reference, namely the dressing of the hair of the face, since this is the token by which deacons and priests are most easily distinguished. Deacons are clean-shaven, bishops and priests are bearded. The Romo-Syrian clergy, both priests and deacons, are clean-shaven. There is a further distinction in the dressing of the hair which marks another theological difference. So far as externals were concerned, the reform movement in the middle of the last century which led to the separation of the Mar Thoma Christians from the Jacobites was a conservative movement : to this day the Mar Thoma priests can be recognised by the tonsure which they have retained and the Jacobites, in accordance with Antiochene custom, have abandoned. It is not unknown, even in the West, for a moustache to suggest theological prepossessions. I was told that, while the controversy which rent the Church last century was at its height, the lay partisans of the old ways signified their allegiance by growing a moustache, while the champions of evangelical reform remained paradoxically clean-shaven.

But a truce to these trivialities : what of the new life which has been awakened among those who have stood by the old ways ?

Justice requires a tribute to the C.M.S. for the impartiality with which they have administered the resources entrusted to them through the good offices of Colonel Monro, for the benefit of all Syrian Christians without distinction or difference ; piety demands it from one who was himself ordained to the priesthood, in St. Alban's Abbey, by a former Bishop of Travancore. No one can visit Travancore without being impressed by the substantial buildings which have been provided for secondary education by all sections of the Syrian Church : in the staffing of these fine schools the C.M.S. College at Kottayam has played a most important part.

The Jacobites are as well furnished with schools and as zealous for education as any others. Not the least cogent proof that their

ideal of education is sound is the simplicity of living which characterises the highly educated men among them. I had opportunities of observing this at close quarters, since my need for an interpreter brought me into intimate associations with several of them. But education is apt to be a solvent of traditional loyalties: there is no little disquiet abroad at the criticisms levelled by young men returned from interdenominational colleges, at the traditions of worship and faith which the Jacobites cherish, though I must confess my unsympathetic ear was assailed by no single exponent of such criticism.

Perhaps the most notable manifestations of the strong currents of spiritual life pulsating in that section of the Church which owns the allegiance of the Catholicos are the flourishing Sunday Schools and the Women's Movement.

The Eastern Churches have always shown a great reverence for Holy Scripture. The leaders of the Syrian Church responded readily to the insistence of the first missionaries on the need of providing a vernacular translation of the Scriptures and of disseminating a knowledge of them among the faithful. In the C.M.S. compound at Kottayam is preserved the printing-press from which there issued the first Malayalam version of the Bible: one fruit of that enterprise is the innumerable Sunday Schools of Travancore, and in maintaining these the zeal of those who hold by the ancient ways is in no degree outrivalled by the zeal of those who have undergone a godly reformation. Those who work in a missionary Diocese, where it is rare to find a man serving the Church without charge, may well envy the Syrian Jacobites their band of voluntary Sunday School teachers.

The movement among the women is a more recent development. Its focus is the *Martha Mariam Vanitha Samajam*—the Society of the Women of Our Lady Mary. The purpose of this Society is to deepen the spiritual life of the women of the Church, especially through the devout use of the sacraments, in order that their homes may be homes of real Christian living. During the last decade it has undergone so phenomenal an expansion that those responsible for guiding its destinies are rather in despair of their capacity to organise it aright, and are wistfully looking for an Anglican lady to supply the administrative gifts which they are conscious of lacking.

But the true test of a living Church in an unbelieving environment is its zeal for the propagation of the faith. In this respect the Syrian Church has indeed awakened from the lethargy of centuries, but it is still somewhat hampered in fulfilling its vocation by the political privileges accorded to it in the past. The movement among the Ezhavas of Travancore, fraught with so momentous a promise for the future, seems to be attracted to the Anglican Church rather than to the ancient Church of the land. Among the

Jacobites the chief agency for preaching the Gospel is a recently founded brotherhood bearing the honourable name of " The Servants of the Holy Cross." Outcast and low-caste converts number some two thousand, and catechists are being trained to instruct catechumens and shepherd the baptized at the Cambridge Nicholson Institute under the tuition of our own Archdeacon Jacob. It is possible that co-operation in the work of evangelisation may ultimately prove a way leading to the restoration of broken unity: such, at any rate, was the burden of the first speech in Malayalam to which I listened.

The need for renewal appears most urgent in two very vital departments of the Church's activity, training for the Priesthood and the ministration of the Sacrament of Penance.

One essential qualification for the priesthood is a capacity to conduct the worship of the Church in Syriac. The study of Syriac, if it went far and deep enough, would be a by no means inadequate preparation for the Priesthood : the names of Gregory Bar Hebræus and Dionysius Bar Salibi bear witness to the distinction which the mediæval Jacobite Church attained in theological and liturgical science. But the lamentable fact is acknowledged that Syriac learning is greatly decayed in the Church of St. Thomas : the party of the Catholicos look back to the late Metropolitan Mar Dionysius VI, who died in 1934, as their last great theologian. The study of Anglo-Catholic manuals of doctrine is scarcely a satisfactory substitute for the instruction of the *Malpans* who in the past unlocked the treasures of Syrian theology. For, if the law of worship determines the expression of faith, Western theology needs considerable adaptation before it can be profitably transplanted to the milieu of a Church which worships according to the tradition of the East. And, meanwhile, it is scarcely one of the merits of a course at Serampore that it equips a man to interpret Syrian Orthodoxy in the conferences which are now being held to promote the reunion of the Church in Travancore.

Confession is regularly used by the Jacobites as a preparation for Communion, but the Sacrament is ordinarily administered in a very formal way. In this matter Western Catholicism has the power to make a contribution of great value to the spiritual renewal of this ancient Church. Western Catholicism needs the example of corporate worship which Eastern Catholicism affords to redress the balance of Eucharistic devotion, distorted by the invasion of an excessive religious individualism : but Eastern Catholicism needs no less to go to school with the great masters who have formulated and canonised the laws of the spiritual life for Western Catholics in the period since the Reformation.

It remains to say something about the controversy which is

distracting the Jacobites in the present generation. This is a new phase of a dispute which has caused dissension in the past; the fundamental issue is autonomy.

The ancient Church of Malankara has frequently renewed its episcopal orders by obtaining a Bishop from abroad. In the latter part of the sixteenth century it was starved into submission by the Portuguese, who prevented the arrival of the Bishop sent to it. In 1665, those who had broken with Rome obtained episcopal orders from the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. During the eighteenth century the succession was normally renewed by the Metropolitan consecrating his successor, sometimes with and sometimes without the consent of the Patriarch. The rival Metropolitans in the middle of the last century, Matthew Mar Athanasius the reformer and Mar Dioysius V, who successfully opposed his reforms and eventually ousted him, were both consecrated by successive Patriarchs. During the height of the commotion which led to the separation of the reformed Mar Thoma Church, the Patriarch Peter in 1874 associated six suffragans with Mar Dioysius V, so that the single diocese of Malankara was, for the first time in its history, parcelled out into seven sees.

At the beginning of the present century the Antiochene Patriarch, Moran Mar abd-ul-Massiah, at the instance of the learned Metropolitan Mar Dioysius VI, delegated his patriarchal powers in India to one of the Bishops in Malabar and conferred on him the title of Catholicos of the East. This was originally a title of the Bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon on the Tigris, who in the ancient Church exercised quasi-patriarchal jurisdiction over Christians outside the Eastern limits of the Roman Empire, and after the Nestorian schism became an independent Patriarch, his primacy of the East being contested by the Jacobite Maphrian at Takrit and later Mosul.

The establishment of a Jacobite Catholicate in India was equivalent to a recognition of the autonomy of the Church of St. Thomas by the Patriarch of Antioch. The authority of the Patriarch Abd-ul-Massiah was disputed in Syria: the rival Patriarch, Moran Mar Abdallah II, prevailed and disowned the action of his predecessor on the ground that his deposition had rendered it null and void. The trouble culminated in a demand on the part of the Patriarch to control all the temporalities of what he regarded as his Indian dependency and the excommunication of the Metropolitan Mar Dioysius VI, when he resisted this claim. Since then the Church of Malankara has been rent in twain, part holding with the Patriarch and part with the Metropolitan and his successor.

Of recent years, two notable efforts have been made to heal the breach. In 1931, the Patriarch Moran Mar Ignatius Elias died on a visit to India, in which he laboured with Bishop Gore for the re-establishment of peace: his tomb, which is not far from Patanam-

thitta, has become a shrine for pilgrims. Hope again revived with the elevation of his successor, Moran Mar Ephraim Severus, to the Patriarchal throne in 1933, but the negotiations were brought to a deadlock two years ago by an ultimatum on the part of the Patriarch insisting on the re-ordination of the clergy adhering to the Catholicos as a condition of reconciliation.

Two factors have complicated the dispute.

The first is the fact that the Eastern Churches have never entirely endorsed the doctrine of an ineffaceable "character" impressed by ordination, and lay stress rather on subordination to the Church as the *conditio sine qua non* of a valid administration of the sacraments. Augustine, without doubt, rendered a great service to the cause of unity when he elucidated the doctrine of "Character" for the Western Church. The ready welcome which the Roman Church could afford to Mar Ivanius on his recent secession contrasts with the confusion in which the issue between the Patriarch and the Catholicos is involved.

The second factor is a local one, namely the majority decree in the civil suit between the two rival Metropolitans in the eighteen-eighties of the last century, which adjudged Mar Dioysius V to be the rightful possessor of the old seminary and other properties of the Syrian Church, on the ground that the Patriarch of Antioch is the only authority competent to consecrate Bishops for the Church of Malankara. This judgment to all intents and purposes legally subjected the Church of St. Thomas, always jealous of its independence, to the supremacy of the Patriarch. The suit itself was the forerunner of many subsequent attempts to decide the rights and wrongs of ecclesiastical controversy in the civil courts. At present no way of help and reconciliation is apparent.

It would, however, create an entirely false impression to conclude on this melancholy note. For more enduring than the memory of the distress which at the moment agitates the troubled surface is the memory I carried away from my visit of the deep undercurrent of unfeigned and unsophisticated piety which continues to refresh this venerable outpost of the Christian faith in a gentile land, and forecasts a complete renewal of its life.

REPORT OF A VISIT TO THE ASSYRIAN REFUGEE CAMPS.

By Revd. Leslie F. Hooper.

Corporation of the Bible Society.

SANDWICHED between the southern borders of Turkey and the great Syrian desert lies the delta of the Euphrates. Here some 6,000 Assyrian refugees from the north of Iraq have come to make a new home. Being refugees they have in their wanderings lost much that they held dear at the hands of their voracious neighbours. Amongst nearly everything else their copies of God's Word have disappeared. Thus at the request of their Patriarch, Mar Shimun, who called at 146, Queen Victoria Street, in January of this year, the Committee of the Bible Society decided to do something to meet their need of Scriptures. It was found possible to put this decision into practice by the kindness of a friend.

Therefore with the Assyrian Camps in view, and with the objective of finding out just what their requirements were, I set off for Aleppo accompanied by our Assyrian colporteur, Abd-ul-Nur (" the Servant of the Light "). In Aleppo I endeavoured to learn more of the Assyrians and their conditions and was surprised to find how little people really knew about them. My thanks are due to the British Consulate for much valuable information. Having obtained a Turkish visa whilst in Beirut, it was thought best for us to travel along the Turkish border by train as far as Ras el Ain, and then proceed southwards to the Camps. Our train left Aleppo at 10.40 p.m. which meant sitting up all night. Just before midnight we reached the station of Cobanby in Turkey, and from there on to Ras el Ain we were running along the border dividing Turkey from Syria. The train ran on a single line and I was told that the northern rail was in Turkey and the southern in Syria.

This was my first real introduction to Turkey. From Cobanby onwards our train swarmed with Turkish officials and soldiers, not to mention half a dozen dirty-looking prisoners. My Turkish visa in the new Roman characters seemed to present rather a problem to some of the less educated officials. There was one who held it upside down for some time until the stamps led him to see that it should be read from the other side. Speaking Turkish fluently Abd-ul-Nur proved an invaluable translator, as these men know nothing about their own language. It was a Turkish train in which we travelled—markedly Turkish in several ways. I was interested to see that there was painted in white on each pane of glass a crescent and a star. That is the sign of Turkey and her flag bears the same mark. As I looked through the glass into the dark night, a cloud

fleeting by uncovered the moon—little more than a crescent herself—surrounded by a million stars. And there it rested over Turkey until the early beams of the sun drove it away.

As our train jolted on I began to think of all that that crescent and star meant to the people in the East as symbol of the religion of Islam and all that it has brought in its train. I was on a mission to take the Scriptures to the Assyrians. They are an ancient Christian people who have not succumbed to the power or the sword of Islam. A people who have fought and suffered for their faith, and who are now refugees only because they hold to the Cross in preference to the crescent. The sun rose at 4.30 a.m. and showed us on either side of the train a flat uncultivated plain covered with a coarse wild grass about one foot in height. I was struck by the fact that there was not a tree in view, nor was I destined to see one until we reached Hassetje that evening. We breakfasted on hard-boiled eggs and bread and this was to prove the last meal we got before 7 p.m. At 5.45 a.m. our train reached Ras el Ain station and we descended on the Syrian side of the line. Behind the station building, which was the only erection in view, there was a solitary lorry. For a small coin we agreed with the driver to allow us to ride with the luggage, provisions, mail, etc., collected from the train into the town of Ras el Ain, a distance of about five miles.

The morning air was cold and I was glad of my coat. Ras el Ain (" the Head of the Spring ") was one of the most miserable places I have ever seen. There was no house of more than one storey and nearly all the town was built with mud bricks, as stones were not to be found. The passageways, or streets, between the houses were nothing more than ditches and in some of them stood filthy water. It was evident that I was a stranger in the midst, and I felt that I was looked upon with distrust and suspicion. " The sooner we get away from here the better," was my impression, and I sent Abd-ul-Nur to find a car whilst I waited in a nearby shop. He returned with the vehicle which he told me was the best that could be found in the town. I did not doubt his statement, although I felt that not even an English " rag and bone " man would have deigned to ride in it. However, its one redeeming feature was that it possessed a Christian driver, and that may mean a lot in such a wild land as this. By 7.15 a.m. we had left Ras el Ain for the Camps. The road to the Camps is a mere track running south from Ras el Ain along the eastern bank of the river Kabour. I thought how impassable such a track must be in winter, and wondered how these poor people got their provisions. On both sides of the river the country spread out into a flat plateau and one could see for miles in every direction. As we continued we passed a Circassian village and then a Bedouin encampment. It was some time before the first Camp was sighted.

By way of introduction let me say that along the banks of the river Kabour there are nine Assyrian Camps, with a population ranging from 100 persons to 2,500 in each. There is a " melik " or " rais " over each Camp, who in his own country would be called " chief of his tribe." He is responsible for law and order in his own Camp and all distribution of rations, clothes, etc., passes through his hands. The people are settled in the Camps as far as possible according to their tribes and all pledge loyalty to their " melik." There is in nearly every case a priest resident in each Camp, and a special " compartment " is set apart as a Church. As this accommodation is too small for the number of worshippers the services are held in relays. Their homes are cone-like constructions built of bricks made from the mud of the river, and plastered over on the outside with more mud. I was told that they were not accustomed to live in such dwellings, but owing to the total absence of stone and wood had learned how to make these places from their Arab neighbours.

As we approached the first Camp I was struck by the number working in the fields in some effort to cultivate a small patch of their wild surroundings. Our car came to a standstill and I saw the priest lay down his spade and run forward to meet me. Finding Arabic our common medium of expression, we soon got friendly and he told me that this camp was Tell Oumarane, that he was the Revd. Hanna Zia and that he had been there for two years. He seemed very proud of his Church, which during the week was used as a school, and he escorted me to it. We soon came to a long low mud building outside which there hung a primitive bell, and then we heard the unmistakable murmur of children repeating their lesson. Upon reaching the door, my companion crossed himself and entered the building, beckoning me to follow.

I had to duck my head as I entered the low door, and in the dull light of the interior I saw fifteen to twenty boys of all ages and sizes sitting round on the floor with their backs to the walls. Upon a sign from my friend the priest, they rose to their feet and their tutor came forward. He spoke perfect English, and after welcoming me to their camp, asked me to excuse their humble conditions and the lack of even a chair which they could offer me. From him I learned that he was teaching the class in Modern Syriac, the language used by them all in everyday speech. Also that some effort was being made at lessons in Arabic and French with the priest and others assisting him. When I asked him from what books he was teaching the children to read, he took from one of the boys a scrap of dirty paper on which were written a few sentences in a bold hand. He then explained that having no books they were compelled to read from this paper on which he had written. I put forward the Bible Society's proposal to present them with some New Testaments for use in their school, and

his face lit up with an expression of delight as he said, " God has indeed answered our prayer." He told me that he preferred to have the books in Syriac Modern as he was most anxious that the children should learn to read their own language, but that they could make good use of Scriptures in both Arabic and French, if we could see our way to include some in the grant. The priest approved the schoolmaster's request, but asked also for a few copies of the Psalms in Syriac Ancient (Nestorian character) for use at the Church services. The grant available enables the Bible Society to comply with their request.

Throughout all the camps I found that the languages required were the same as those asked for in this the first one visited. And now to the delight of the whole school I took a snapshot of them outside their Church building, with the schoolmaster on one side and the priest on the other. The Revd. Hanna conducted me back to my car through the heart of the Camp, and I was very much touched to see the conditions under which they were living. Some were in Eastern dress, the long loose-flowing garments of the Arab, and some were in clothes of a more Western cut. One was in khaki shorts, another in grey flannel trousers, and yet another in a golfing suit, but in nearly every case in a pitiful state of repair. I cannot say I saw many bare feet, for in their industrious way, they had fitted up themselves with some kind of footgear. An old piece of motor tyre cut the shape of the foot made an excellent sole, and with a wooden crotchet-hook and some string they had worked a loose upper sole for it. Outside her mud home, a woman sat washing some of the oldest rags I have ever seen. They told me that the water with which she was washing had had to be carried from the river, a distance of 150 yards, in a petrol tin. Surely such a life is possible only in dry weather. When the wet weather started, I wondered how she could wash in her small mud house. How well would her house stand the storms and the rains? The camp was remarkably clean, a fact brought home to me more when I realised there was no sanitation.

Then we moved on to the next Camp, Tell Arish, and from there to Tell Omarawah. In one we spoke to the men in the fields, and in the other we were seated in one of their small houses around a cup of Eastern coffee. Wonderfully clean were their dwellings when one looked at the mud floor, mud walls and mud roof. The little wooden couch, which formed a seat by day and a bed by night, was always covered with a cushion or a rug. Sometimes we spoke of conditions in Iraq and of those left behind, and then there was always a sigh, for they felt that their nation was divided. " The strength of our nation has been in unity," one " melik " told me, " and we wish that either they could come over to us or that we could return to them."

As we entered the largest camp of all, Tell Tammar, with a population of 2,500 persons, I was interested to see some fields of wheat.

This would be something with which they could eke out their meagre rations. This was one of the three camps that possessed a school, and I was told that they had an attendance of 250 children. "Melik" Yacoub and the Rev. Walda received us kindly, and I was impressed by the fact that this "chief" looked more like a "melik" than the others I had seen. The people here seemed slightly better off than in the other Camps, and this was probably because they had been in residence for over three years. By this I do not mean that they were not in want, for in fact it was here that I heard the complaint that they lacked tobacco for their pipes. I was fortunate enough to get a snapshot of two old men with their long-stemmed pipes. They knew Arabic and generally speaking this was the language we used, but I was surprised to find that thirty per cent. of the people knew enough English for purposes of conversation. "Do you swim in the river?" I asked one man to test his knowledge of English. He replied without hesitation, "Yes, we swim in the river, wash in it and fish in it also, the river means everything to us, and we wish we had some means of raising its waters for purposes of irrigation."

We passed on from camp to camp, always to find cheerful smiles in spite of the conditions under which they were living. In Tell Hafyon I was interested in the formation of the houses. They were set out with a given distance between each building. It seems that their "melik," with whom I spoke for some time, was a sanitary engineer by trade, and that for health reasons he had set the houses apart. He told me proudly that there had been only one death in his Camp. The Rev. Yohanna, resident at Tell Maghas, ministers at both this camp and at Tell Nassas, and endeavours to unite the children of both camps in a small school. Seated in his mud dwelling, we discussed the conditions under which his poor people were existing. It was here I heard that their Bedouin neighbours frequently came and stole some of their sheep by night. One man had lost thirty in this way, being more than half his flock. They felt that they lacked adequate protection against such raids, and said that if they could not successfully protect their sheep, they feared that their houses and crops would suffer a similar fate. Soon after leaving the camps we turned a corner in the road and gained an excellent view of Bedouin Arabs watering their flocks at the river-bank, as if in confirmation of what I had just heard. These mercenary fellows, when I stopped to take a photo of them, immediately surrounded the car begging for money. This was the first time that day I had had such a request.

It took us another hour and a half to reach Hassetje late in the afternoon. Here our first thought was to procure a meal which we did at a small and none too clean Arab restaurant. The only dish I felt was safe to attempt from amongst the cook's savouries was

boiled beans. Surely no germ could live through the long boiling necessary to render them palatable. We then called upon the Rev. Yohannan Eshoo whose name had been given us by the Assyrian Patriarch, Mar Shimum. A very pleasant hour was spent with him and he was glad to get up-to-date information about the Camps. I told him of the Bible Society's proposal to place the Scriptures amongst his people, and of the languages for which they had asked. He heartily endorsed the step we were taking, and assured us of his people's prayers for our work. We had booked accommodation at the least primitive hotel in the town. There were six beds in the only bedroom replete with coverlet, and we were provided with a quilt for the night. We decided to retire to bed early. The loss of a night's sleep followed by a heavy day in the Camps, together with the cool night air of the desert enabled us to fall asleep at once. Soon after midnight I was awakened by the activities of many small companions. As I turned and tossed I envied Abd-ul-Nur's ability to snore peacefully on. To me the first signs of dawn came as a welcome relief. In the morning we looked for a conveyance to take us to Deir ez Zor, and this gave us an opportunity to see something of Hassetje. There was little to attract. Low mud houses, rough stone roads, two tall churches with the one redeeming feature of a few stunted trees.

The road to Deir ez Zor, a mere track, led through a monotonous desert, and the heat of the sun gave us some wonderful mirages. Deir ez Zor lies on the western bank of the Euphrates, and to enter the town we had to cross the river by that striking and memorable bridge over which so many Christian refugees were driven to their death. To us tired travellers, Deir ez Zor seemed a most unattractive town, and one wondered what its status had been in the old caravan days. Flies! I never remember having seen so many flies! In one butcher's shop the meat itself was scarcely visible. At the restaurant, the dish of food we ordered was covered with flies before it reached our table, and the drinking water provided was thick with sediment from the Euphrates. I was thankful to hear that cars for Aleppo left in the evening, so as to avoid the midday heat. This meant that we could start without much delay on the next lap of our journey. The prospect of a night in Deir ez Zor filled me with horror. We were to leave at 5 p.m. and the Moslem driver promised to get us to Aleppo soon after midnight. Incidentally it had turned 6 p.m. before our bus moved out of the town. However, we were not to reach civilisation so soon, for scarcely an hour and a half after we had left our vehicle broke down with clogged plugs. For half an hour our driver played about with the engine, but to no effect. We waited just over four hours before the first car came along, and fortunately its driver was able to patch up our machine with some spare parts he had with him, and so we continued. However, we broke down after this several times during the night, and had not covered more than half

our 360 kilometres when the sun rose. We were dead tired, ravenously hungry, and covered from head to foot with desert sand when we drew into our garage in Aleppo. As I walked to my hotel I heard the clock strike noon. We had not been seven, but eighteen hours reaching here from Deir ez Zor.

In closing I should like to give my own general impressions of the Assyrian refugees. When once more enjoying the comforts of civilisation I thought of those poor people living under mud roofs, cooking in the heat of the sun, and eking out their meagre rations. They seem to lack protection for they are at the mercy of the Bedouin Arab. I was very struck by their friendliness, their knowledge of English, their desire to work and better themselves, their cleanliness, and their marked lack of complaint. There was something open, manly, noble about the men, something refined and gentle about the women. Having lived more than two-thirds of my life in the Near East I have from time to time been thrown up against various types of refugees, but not in one case do I remember a type so definitely fine or less grasping. There were amongst them those that grumbled, but not without reason. The thing that impressed me most of all was their reverence for the House of God, their regular worship and the place that religion took in their lives.

Early this year there was read over the wireless a report of a speech made in the House of Lords on behalf of the Assyrians. In that speech a statement was made to the effect that once the Assyrians were settled along the banks of the Kabour then at least one corner of the Near East would be at peace. Whilst appreciating the spirit in which such a statement is made, personally I feel that the Assyrians can never be at peace in the Kabour. A strongly Christion nation, refugees because of their faith, can never be safe sandwiched between Moslem Turkey and the Moslem Bedouin of the desert.

Books to be distributed include :

Syriac (Ancient) Psalms	.. ..	80 copies
Syriac (Modern) Bible	.. ..	120 ,,
Syriac (Modern) New Testament	.. .. ..	12,000 ,,
French New Testament	.. ..	620 ,,
Arabic IV Gospels (one vol.)	.. .. ..	620 ,,

AN ARAB VIEW OF THE ASSYRIAN TRAGEDY.

[*We print this article translated from "Saout-ul-Ahrar" (the "Voice of Truth"), the most militant of all nationalist Arab journals in Syria as an illustration of how the Assyrian tragedy appears to the ordinary Arabs and as incidentally showing the true misery to which the unhappy Assyrians in the Khatom are abandoned.*]

Eleven Thousand Assyrians Victims of Famine and Pestilence.

In a distant Syrian valley, in the desert of the Upper Jazirah there dwell eleven thousand of the Assyrians who have migrated or been expelled from Iraq in consequence of their last revolt ; the English subsidised them and the League of Nations constituted itself their trustee and protector. France and Iraq then agreed to house them in that region which is far removed from habitation and civilisation and destitute of water and herbage.

The Assyrians were located in the Jazirah and the Society of Nations appointed a delegate of its own in that country to inspect their modes of sustenance and to look after their health, which is God's especial purpose. In the sequel an officer in Aleppo was instructed to assure their being supplied with food, as the poor people were nearly dying of famine. This officer was in command of vast wealth only at the Assyrians' cost. Presently his duty of looking after them was transferred to fresh hands, which it was supposed would be kinder than the former, only this hope was disappointed. Complaints came pouring in to the League of Nations, among them that famine was attacking the Assyrians and that diseases were rife among their communities. Where then is your mercy, League of Nations ?

The League referred the complaints to the International Committee for the Relief of Refugees, and this Committee in its turn referred them to the permanent delegate of the league in that country ; and it is said that the delegate's reply was regularly to the effect that the complaints were unfounded, that the Assyrians were living in comfort, that overeating was giving them indigestion—with various other things of the sort which we refrain from mentioning for fear of causing a fresh stoppage to this newspaper !

A Lady Commissioner of the League.

Ultimately the League of Nations decided to send a lady Commissioner to Syria to study the condition of the Assyrian refugees, and ascertain the truth of the complaints which were continually pouring in. The post was given to Miss Gandy, a member of the Committee for the relief of refugees, and of high reputation in the

West for her attainments. A little while ago she arrived in Beirut and took accommodation in the German hotel, St. Charles. Interviewing Mr. P. Dodge, principal of the American University in Beirut, she informed him—and no one else—of her business, and requested him to render it easy for her to travel secretly to the dwellings of the Assyrians in the Jazirah. Mr. Dodge immediately instructed a lad from Lebanon, Sayyid Rizq Barakat, a former student of the University, to take Miss Gandy in his motor-car to the Jazirah, and this was done.

Miss Gandy left Beirut for Aleppo, and proceeded thence to Dair al-Zur, Kamishli, Hasjah, and Ras al-Ain, traversed the dwellings of the Assyrians, got in contact with them, studied their conditions in spite of the endeavours made to obstruct her business; she then returned to Beirut after travelling 2,360 kilometres, and after seeing the horrors and the tragedies, and hearing extraordinary tales. Before leaving Beirut to return to Geneva she talked about what she had seen and heard. And here are some of her narratives for our readers.

How do they live?

The lady Commissioner of the League of Nations says they live like beasts, being in a land that is bare, dry, filled with swamps, diseases and fevers. They are divided into a number of groups, each separated from the other by a long distance, and indeed distant from the world: under a burning sun: in a zone which is without means of communication, or appliances for health and comfort. No soil is there capable of cultivation, or suitable for rearing cattle: it is rare to find among these eleven thousand refugees an individual possessing a single goat, chicken or duck. The most debased Bedouin or Gipsy tribes live better than these poor wretches.

Fevers rage among them terribly. Within a few weeks they carried off four hundred persons. The most disgraceful fact is that there is there a doctor appointed by the League to look after the health of these human cattle, but this human doctor will not give a grain of quinine except for a price, and will not visit a sick person except for a fee. Since the great bulk of the refugees have no money they are destined to be the prey of the worst plagues, and to die in decades every week!

What do they eat?

So much about their sanitary condition. As for their nutriment, Miss Gandy states that famine participates with the fevers in reducing the numbers of these unfortunates, since the official whose business it is to look after their commissariat visits them once a month, but gives them only enough food to last them a fortnight; for the

remaining fortnight they go without supplies and at times feed on the food of cattle !

Once when Miss Gandy was on her way to one of the settlements of the Assyrians she was met by seven of them who were crossing the desert on foot fleeing from the diseases and the famine, and when they saw her they knelt at her feet imploring her to give them something to preserve their lives. She hastened to distribute her provisions among these poor creatures who were in a deplorable state.

This is what was seen by the lady Commissioner of the League of Nations, a distinguished lady aged 55, speaking English, German, French, Turkish and Arabic. She brings back a sound idea about the Assyrian refugees, which is that death will reap the lot speedily unless the League of Nations immediately rescues them from the deplorable state in which they are.

We marvel at the spread of famine among the Assyrian communities when the official entrusted with the duty of feeding them takes a Swiss franc for each individual, the Swiss franc being worth 25 Syrian piastres. This amount would suffice to fill the stomach of any Assyrian with meat, vegetables and butter—whereas the relieving officer offers them nothing but black bread and such grain as is eaten by mules.

In one of the Reports presented by the Assyrians to the lady Commissioner of the League of Nations it is stated that their continuance in this plight will lead to their extermination, so that they are deciding to change their religion, abandon their Assyrian nationality, and beg leave to return to Iraq ; for they regard their existence in that burning and pestilential region and the ill-treatment which they are receiving as a conspiracy whose purpose is their extermination.

The Assyrian refugees are in fear of the danger of destruction, and they are doubtless justified in such apprehension so long as the storms of famine, fever and injustice buffet them so violently. And if the purpose of their removal from Iraq and settlement in the desert of the Jazirah was to destroy them and get rid of them, there was no occasion for professing such zeal in the cause of humanity in their case, nor any need for an international committee for the relief of refugees, nor a permanent Commissioner of the League of Nations on the supreme commission. Let them permit the facts to come to light ! And so the Armenians who were slain by the thousands at the time of the massacres and were slaughtered by the bullets of Turks and Kurds will have " colleagues " in this age, the age of liberty, mercy, and the justice of the League of Nations !

If on the other hand, the object of settling the Assyrians in the Jazirah is preservation of their lives, why are they left to the mercies of the relieving officer, and why are they left exposed to the most terrible plagues and neglect ?

St. Basil's anaphora. Parallel with the Liturgical Movement in the West he notes the signs that the responsible Eucharist is coming also in Moscow. So in this best of all the essays, because it is the quietest, our own words are uttered and our own faith is stirred, while the heart of the exile turns homewards.

A. F. DOBBIE-BATEMAN.

June 20th, 1937.

NEW SOVIET PUBLICATIONS.

"The Life of the Archpriest Avvakum" (*Zhitie Protopopa Avvakuma*), edited by N. K. Gudzi. Moscow (about 9s.).

"An Anthology of Old Russian Literature" (XI to XVII centuries) (*Khrestomatia po drevnei russkoi literature*, xi-xvii *vv.*), compiled by Prof. N. K. Gudzi. Moscow (about 6s.).

"The Making of a Hero" (*Kak zakalyalas stal*), a novel, by Nikolai Ostrovsky. Moscow (about 6s.). English translation published by Secker and Warburg, 8s. 6d.

THESE three new books are indispensable to all serious students of Russian life.

Avvakum is one of the most important and striking figures in both the religious and literary history of Russia. He was the most outstanding leader among the Old Believers, the conservatives who resisted to the point of schism the ritual corrections of the Patriarch Nikon in the seventeenth century. Imprisonment, exile and finally death by burning did not shake his indomitable spirit. Some years before his death he wrote his autobiography, which has become a classic of Russian literature on account of its vivid, homely language. This is a particularly beautiful edition of the Life, with an illuminating introduction by Professor Gudzi (which should be read with the section on Avvakum in Makary, *Istoria Russkoi Tserkvi*, vol. XII), a series of fine reproductions of old ikons, notes and glossary. The whole volume is an impressive testimony to the high standard of scholarship, sympathetic human appreciation and artistic book production now attained by the Soviet Union. (A translation into English by Harrison and Mirrlees of the Life was published by the Hogarth Press some years ago.)

The Anthology makes available at last texts which in recent years have been very difficult to procure. It contains extracts from almost all the well-known spiritual writings of Old Russia, such as: *The Visit of the Mother of God to the Place of Torment, The Lives of Boris and Gleb, The Journey to the Holy Land of the Hegumen Daniel, The Kievo-Petcherski Paterik, The Life of Alexander Nevski, The Life of*

Stephen of Perm, The Story of Juliana Lazarevski and *The Works of the Archpriest Avvakum.* For the *Instruction of Vladimir Monomakh* or the *Domostroy of Sylvester* it will still be necessary to use Alferov and Gruzinski's *Literature before Peter the Great* or one of the other old anthologies. Professor Gudzi, however, includes also the greatest secular writings of the period, such as : *The Song of the Campaign of Igor, The Story of the Fall of Pskov* and *The Correspondence of Kurbski with John the Terrible.* As these latter throw much light on the conditions under which the religious life of the time developed, their inclusion in this work greatly facilitates any dispassionate study of the period from the Christian point of view. Once again we must congratulate Professor Gudzi on the high standard of his work, containing as it does all the texts necessary to understand the main principles guiding thought and action in old Russia. It is impossible, of course, to accept many of Professor Gudzi's conclusions, but his warm human sympathies and his penetrating, informed criticisms correct many of the errors into which ill-balanced partisans of everything old Russian have fallen, *e.g.*, his insistence that the economic factor was one of greater importance than has usually been conceded. Let us hope that this work may encourage a more thorough and balanced appreciation of old Russian life, as it well deserves to do.

The novel by Ostrovsky makes us regret all the more that the *Instruction of Vladimir Monomakh* was not included in Professor Gudzi's Anthology. For Paul Korchagin, Ostrovsky's almost autobiographical hero, would have gladdened the heart of Monomakh. A Russian of action at last, a man in whom lofty idealism is securely wedded to tenacity of purpose and success in accomplishment makes one think of Soviet Russia—or old Russia. The nineteenth century with its nervelessness and morbidity—in spite of its flashes of great spiritual insight—falls away and a simpler, healthier, tremendously vital spirit takes its place. *The Making of a Hero* is the story of a young Russian Communist during the period of World War, revolution, civil war and socialist construction. It is an amazingly fine piece of work and shows the great qualities of heart and mind and body which Communism can produce. There is, however, one great quality lacking, which Monomakh, in spite of his occasional savage lapses, yet possessed. That is supernatural Love, the Love of God. And we English Churchmen, who occasionally venture, in our arrogance, to express hopes and longings concerning peoples with whom we are linked by affection if not blood, are constrained to pray that this virtue may be added to the others and the Soviet Churchman be produced.

E.N.C.S.

ST. SERAPHIM OF SAROV. CONCERNING THE AIM OF THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.

Translated by A. F. DOBBIE-BATEMAN.

S.P.C.K. 1s. 6d.

THIS attractive little work should be of considerable interest to Anglican readers. Both the translation of the conversation of S. Seraphim with Nicholas Motovilov, " concerning the aim of the Christian life," and the Introduction which gives it a background are exceptionally well done. It may also be added that the work as a whole is marked by considerable literary style and ability which in themselves serve to enhance its charm.

S. Seraphim the eminent Russian monk, wonder-worker and Saint to whom this work introduces us was born in 1759, died in 1833 and was canonised in 1903. As Mr. Dobbie-Bateman points out in his Introduction the span of the Saint's life covers one of the most interesting and formative periods in Modern European History.

The Introduction should be read with great care by those who wish to appreciate the actual significance of the " Conversation." No doubt Englishmen will find in it much that appears strange, as indeed also in the brief life of the Saint which the Introduction provides, but nevertheless from the reading of the work there emerges the lineaments of a striking personality, one who knew the Mystery of the Faith in the deepest sense and walked with God.

" The true aim of our Christian life is to acquire the Holy Spirit of God. But mark, my son, only the good deed done for Christ's sake brings us the fruits of the Holy Spirit." The man who uttered these words in relation to the needs of the soul had a firm grasp of the life of Grace. There is in this work an unmistakable indication of that which has been termed " the pure love of God " in relation to Affective Prayer. The Note on page 14 should be considered in reference to this. It was Franèois Malaval who once wrote, " The way of contemplation is, moreover, the most perfect way, more especially as the continual presence of God, which the contemplative holds fast even during the affairs of the day, brings with it all blessings and averts all evils. After all . . . can anyone look at God continuously and fail to love Him? A comparison of the " Conversation " with the work of other Mystics and especially with that of Malaval should serve to convince that the divide between East and West is not so great as some think. In the West, others and especially Malaval have stressed the acquisition of the Holy Spirit as necessary to apprehension of the Mystery of the Faith.

The book is furnished with a good reproduction of an Ikon depicting S. Seraphim and a pleasing sketch of the Blessed Virgin . . . the " Mary of the Ikon ' Tenderness'."

IVAN R. YOUNG.